Contact Talk

The Discursive Organization of Contact and Boundaries

Edited by Zane Goebel, Deborah Cole and Howard Manns

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CONTACT TALK

Written by a wide range of highly regarded scholars and exciting junior ones, this book critiques and operationalizes contemporary thinking in the rapidly expanding field of linguistic anthropology. It does so using case studies of actual everyday language practices from an extremely understudied yet incredibly important area of the Global South: Indonesia. In doing so, it provides a rich set of studies that model and explain complex linguistic anthropological analysis in engaging and easily understood ways.

As a book that is both accessible for undergraduate students and enlightening for graduate students through to senior professors, this book problematizes a wide range of assumptions. The diversity of settings and methodologies used in this book surpass many recent collections that attempt to address issues surrounding contemporary processes of diversification given rapid ongoing social change. In focusing on the trees, so to speak, the collection as a whole also enables readers to see the forest. This approach provides a rare insight into relationships between everyday language practices, social change, and the ever-present and ongoing processes of nation-building.

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"This is an immensely important volume in which a synthesis is achieved of decades of theoretical debate, now integrated in an original and innovative framework for a sociolinguistics of complexity. Offering a range of richly documented studies within a coherent framework, this book is compelling reading for anyone interested in the contemporary dynamics of language and society."

— Jan Blommaert, Director of Babylon, Department of Culture Studies,
Tilburg School of Humanities and Digital Sciences,
Tilburg University, Tilburg, the Netherlands

"This book shows that although Indonesia has arguably the world's most successful national language in one of the world's most linguistically diverse countries, the problem of contact languages has not been 'solved.' With ethnographically rich examples and introducing the concepts of 'scalar shifter' and 'contact register,' the authors show beautifully how language remains a pivotal resource for the construction of difference and sameness in the midst of massive decentralization and globalization."

— Joel Kuipers, Professor of Anthropology and International Affairs,
George Washington University

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1

THEORIZING THE SEMIOTIC COMPLEXITY OF CONTACT TALK

Contact registers and scalar shifters

Zane Goebel, Deborah Cole and Howard Manns

Introduction

> [T]he study of pidginization, by requiring us to study simplification, may lead to recognition of a sociolinguistic universal. Simplification may prove to be, not an isolated phenomenon, but one pole of a continuum applicable to outer form in all languages.
>
> (Hymes 1971:73)

Understanding what happens when people with different linguistic repertoires come into contact has been a long term and intensely researched question, within the humanities and social sciences in general (Ang 2003; Vertovec 2007; Werbner 1997) and linguistics in particular (e.g., Auer 1998; Eastman 1992; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Milroy and Muysken 1995; Mufwene 2008). Changes in how capital and labor move through the world, decolonization, economic and political upheaval, and the development of faster and cheaper transport and communication infrastructures (Harvey 1989; Hobsbawm 1992; Wallerstein 2004) produce new contact zones on very large scales. A new wave of recent scholarship has emerged on increasingly complex multilingual contact zones (Auer 1998; Rampton 1995). This scholarship emerged in tandem with sustained work on language ideologies that has kept us focused on the constructed nature of ideas about language and identity (Agha 2007a; Kroskrity 2000). The need to understand these contact zones, as part of a wider and ongoing system of change that creates hierarchies of language, produced a new body of work in the areas of superdiversity and research on how language can move from being a marker of identity to a sellable commodity (Blommaert 2013; Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Heller et al. 2015; Heller and Duchêne 2012a). These subfields are also starting to focus on language in areas of the globe that have been called "marginal", language and margin-center

relations, and how all of these areas of inquiry relate to different infrastructures and historical circumstances (Goebel 2015; Heller et al. 2015; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013).

This book documents and analyzes CONTACT TALK[1] or commentaries about speakers and languages in contact. It demonstrates discourse that provides us with the physical, observable, measurable, analyzable data that constitutes both the "borders" and the "contact" of contact talk. Since what counts as "a language" is itself constructed through discourse, what comes into contact in a language contact situation is not so much the rapprochement of different languages, but the coming together of multiple discourses about what a language is, who speaks it to whom, when, how, and why. Linguists have pointed out that such discourses, or METASEMIOTIC COMMENTARIES, are crucial to the formation of SEMIOTIC REGISTERS. Semiotic registers are sign constellations whose meanings have been valorized and recirculated through a series of inter-connected metasemiotic commentaries. Valorization via these commentaries helps to add social value to the cluster of forms so that any sign within the cluster not only has a denotational meaning but also an ever-increasing connotational range. When this type of sign valorization is replicated within much large participation frameworks (e.g., within schools, the media, the bureaucracy), then this process is referred to as ENREGISTERMENT (Agha 2007a). A crude approximation of the linguistic component of a semiotic register is thus a named language.

The authors of these chapters concern themselves both with existing or naturalized semiotic registers but also with those registers that emerge in the course of interaction, what we call CONTACT REGISTERS. They chronicle the variety of resources and repertoires that figure in the enregisterment of linguistic and social boundaries that form the necessary conditions for contact phenomena to come into focus. These studies then move beyond the discursive organization of social and linguistic boundaries to show how contact talk enables the reconfiguration of the semiotic features of discourse about languages and identities to facilitate the emergence of new semiotic repertoires. This focus on the discursive organization of the metasemiotic commentary of contact talk also makes possible a reflexive examination of our own scholarly discourses and of how we as linguists and anthropologists talk about the contact and boundary phenomena we seek to understand.

The particular setting for the contact talk examined here is the archipelago of Indonesia in the last two decades, a setting which provides a particularly rich context for examining semiotic repertoires in contact, for reasons we make clear later. The chapters' authors have collected data that demand analyses that can successfully deal with semiotic complexity (which we define later). These data include samples of face-to-face interactions, recordings of public discourse, social media feeds, public signage, clothing choices, television serials, and advertising campaigns. Three facts become clear across these varied samples. First, these seemingly disparate signs and the registers that make use of them are performed and evaluated through similar kinds of discursive processes. Second, these signs and registers are in some cases conscripted for boundary making projects and in others for boundary

dismantling projects. Third, the individual features of each sign and the individual signs of each register are themselves constantly available for reconfiguration into new signs, registers, and value projects. This possibility for constant re-valuation and recombination demand the theoretical machinery to deal with semiotic complexity.

Semiotic complexity can be used in a narrow multimodal sense to refer to the multiple co-occurring signs that are used to signal and interpret meaning (e.g., Gumperz 1982; Norris 2004; Tannen 1984). Increasingly, however, semiotic complexity encompasses a multimodal aspect, the simultaneity and tensions created by all sorts of co-occurring practices, the need to understand the connections and entanglements between signs used in one communicative encounter with signs used in other encounters from other times and places (e.g., Blommaert 2015; Clonan-Roy et al. 2016a; Tsing 2005), how this relates to human mobility (Blommaert and Rampton 2011), and how all of this relates to the market, social value, and identity and branding projects (Goebel 2008; Heller et al. 2015; Heller and Duchêne 2012a; Manning 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2016). Recent work on creoles, the prototypical example of language contact, confirms the need for a focus on complexity:

> [S]ynchronically, far from being the world's simplest languages, Creole languages can be seen as some of the world's most complex languages. That is if we take a social perspective. This can be seen in the sociolinguistic dynamics of Creole communities, the degree of multilingualism that characterizes them, the complexity of registers being negotiated on an everyday basis, as well as competence in switching and mixing that is required by its speakers.
> (Ansaldo 2017:2)

In this book, rather than focusing on one aspect of complexity—e.g., one of the following: multimodality, connection, mobility, market, social value, or identity projects—we look at all of these aspects within the one volume as a way of exemplifying approaches to understanding semiotic complexity in its multiple manifestations. Our working definition of SEMIOTIC COMPLEXITY is thus:

> the connections between signs used in one communicative encounter with signs used in other encounters from other timespaces (i.e. The intertwined time-space of Bakhtin's (1981) chronotope), their relationship with the mobility of their users, the relationship of this to nation-building regimes, market forces, value, identity and branding projects, and the unintended consequences of some of these projects.

By focusing on complexity, this book also adds to contemporary work in some of these areas, but especially "peripheral" or "small" languages (Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013; Pietikäinen et al. 2016), and the ideas around the development of pride in a language and using a language for profit (Goebel 2014; Heller et al. 2015; Heller and Duchêne 2012a).

We focus on complexity by looking at a unique national context, Indonesia, where complexity and boundary management has been a two hundred year project of ideologizing and managing hundreds of ethnic languages (Goebel 2015; 2016; 2017). Since the early 1990s, many unintended consequences of this ideologizing have emerged, especially discourses proclaiming the need to decentralize and pointing out the ongoing fragmentation along territorial and ethnolinguistic lines (e.g., Aspinall 2011; Aspinall and Fealy 2003b; Bünte 2009). The authors in this book all show how the ideologies produced by this process have been reflexively appropriated for all sorts of interactional projects. This book provides the complement to Hymes' observation quoted above by focusing on complexification at the other end of the contact continuum.

To be clear, these possibilities for semiotic complexity are not new. They have always existed in human language. What *is* new, and what makes this book timely are first, the political changes that occurred in recent Indonesian history, which enabled discourse that dissolved previous boundaries between semiotic registers leading to new patterns of contact talk and behavior and second, the proliferation both in public/everyday discourse and in academic scholarship around the world of COMPLEXITY TALK. Like contact talk, complexity talk is a metasemiotic commentary, but one that focuses on and contributes to an understanding of contemporary communication processes as (increasingly) complex, a discourse in which the authors of this book are clearly participating. In what follows, we sketch how these two processes set the stage for the studies in this book (including our own reflexivity about participating in the scholarship of complexity), introduce the theoretical contribution of the book as a whole, and outline how each of the chapters contributes to the volume.

Emerging patterns in boundary discourses in contemporary Indonesia

Our empirical focus is multiple settings in Indonesia where the tension between semiotic sameness and difference is strikingly evident across (semiotic) registers and where the facts of semiotic complexity appear in sharp relief thanks to political and fiscal decentralization that began in 2001 (Aspinall and Fealy 2003b). Scholars of the humanities and social sciences have, for a long time, been interested in the relationship between centralization and fragmentation and uniformity and diversity (Anderson 1972; Bakhtin 1981). Ben Anderson (1972:20–21) commenting on power, political life, and history in Javanese aristocratic society notes:

> [T]he Javanese view of history was one of cosmological oscillation between periods of concentration of Power and periods of its diffusion. The typical historical sequence is concentration-diffusion-concentration-diffusion without any ultimate resting point. In each period of concentration new centers of Power (dynasties, rulers) are constituted and unity is recreated; in each period of diffusion, Power begins to ebb away from the center, the reigning dynasty

loses its claim to rule, and disorder appears—until the concentrating process begins again.

Embedded in the contact talk documented in this book are geosocial metaphors of the Indonesian nation like "center", "periphery", "margins" and "hubs". During the Suharto era, Jakarta was enregistered as *the* center within national discourse. It was discursively framed as the hub that mattered most for the nation. Everything outside of Jakarta was enregistered as peripheral. Where there were other hubs outside of Jakarta (other centers in the margins), their peripheral, marginal status was maintained through a neatly divided categorization of national vs. local or regional (Kuipers 2015). After the Suharto era, the perspective shifted or rather, another perspective started to become enregistered alongside the previous one. In this emergent perspective, local, regional hubs became centers whose very peripherality became necessary to a zoomed out view that the nation encompassed all of these regional hubs. Jakarta was now only one hub among many—no longer *the* center, but *a* center that could also attract commentaries and evaluations that could position Jakarta as marginal or peripheral from the perspective of being on the ground in one of those other hubs of the previously enregistered periphery. This process has been called "decentralization" but it could also be called "redistributed centralization" or "multi-centered peripherality". These geo-social metaphors, we argue later, are scalar shifters that facilitate the continuous redrawing of relevant boundaries on which samples of contact talk depend.

As part of talk about centers and peripheries in the spatio-temporal imagination of the Indonesian nation, two semiotic registers became available at the national level, within discourse that was directed at or engaged with the enregistered opposition between "centrality and the nation" and "peripherality and the local". Two semiotic registers were successfully enregistered and received wide uptake during Suharto era nation talk (roughly the period between 1966-1998, but we will discuss this in more detail in the following chapter). One register was associated with exemplary Indonesian usage and was hierarchically organized, aligned with, and emblematic of the national center, while another was hierarchically organized, aligned with, and emblematic of the peripheral, marginal, local and ethnic. During the Suharto era, these two semiotic registers also came into direct contact within the same discursive spheres, and as happens in any contact situations, new participant specific registers emerged as indexes of shared interactional history and stances. While this is nothing new, what was new is that such mixing of resources began to be authorized by multiple infrastructures which were formally controlled by the state. In multiple sites, it was not only increasingly common to find the use of resources from these registers, but metasemiotic commentaries that policed mixing and impurity seemed to be less prevalent as the Suharto regime lost control of media censorship and embraced market forces in the area of domestic tourism (Goebel 2015).

This book demonstrates how the discursive coming together of two important semiotic registers in the recent history of Indonesia has led to the re-organization

of linguistic realities and social practices. The importance of this demonstration is threefold. First, the general structure of two semiotic registers in Indonesia (one that links a particular language to the national and another that links other languages to the local and ethnic) will be familiar to scholars of language situations all over the world and of language situations in different times. This book provides the reader with a front row seat to observe what can happen when the enregistered boundaries between these familiar registers are suddenly eroded. Second, the emergence of reconfigured infrastructures and market forces that have authorized register mixing in contact talk shifts and focuses our perspective on contact as a discursive phenomenon that occurs not only at the level of grammar and culture, but in and by talk about contact and talk about boundaries between grammars and cultures. Third, the recognition of complexity as a sociolinguistic universal of language contact invites the coining of concepts that can provide theoretical handholds for investigating and analyzing linguistic form on the complexity pole of the contact continuum. It is to this latter point that we turn in the following section.

The contemporary proliferation of complexity talk

Sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology have gone through several cycles of disciplinary boundary maintenance and boundary crossing since the publication of Gumperz and Hymes' (1972) *Directions in Sociolinguistics* (DIS). As both a boundary forming and boundary crossing project, DIS brought disparate disciplines together to help us understand language in society. Since this work, there has been tremendous growth in most of the disciplines represented in DIS, helping to create and harden new and old boundaries. Along the way, there have been a number of renewed boundary crossing efforts as well as many boundary blurring projects as multiple theories and methods are used to understand contemporary language practices (e.g., Blommaert 2010; Hanks 2010; Heller 2011; Rampton 2006).

The history of scholarship on language contact mirrors the process described above for Indonesian. Linguists and anthropologists began study in this field with ideas about bounded languages coming into contact resulting in maintained separation, minimal mixing, intensive mixing, and the emergence of new languages. In the process of studying these contact situations, we became aware that our ideas about the boundedness of languages are faulty. Everywhere we attempt to draw the lines between languages we find overlap and leakage, willful border crossing, and a recognition of our own and others' political motivations for drawing the borders where we do (Mufwene 2001). We find contact everywhere, and perfect isolation, either historically or currently, is non-existent. What we do—what humans do, and what scholars of language do—is draw boundary lines. But we are also the ones who willfully erase them, step nimbly over them, and behave as if no such lines exist. As everyday users of language, we come to care about these lines and the line crossings so much that we will defend our right to draw the lines, demand that others recognize the lines we've drawn, and accuse and defame those who refuse to recognize our lines and our right to maintain their impenetrability. But all the

while contact happens. And not only are the elements on each side of every line constantly in contact, but the discourses that build, maintain, cross, and erase these lines are in constant contact with each other.

These facts about contact have become undeniably obvious in recent years with the increased communication between people in different geographic settings via the internet as well as the increase of immigrants from other parts of the world into Western Europe. The undeniability of the constructed nature of ethnolinguistic boundaries in contemporary life has been mirrored by an increase in what Agha (2015) calls "globalization talk". In everyday as well as in academic discourse we are coining phrases and performing behaviors that enregister our ideas and evaluations of contemporary contact phenomena. As scholars, we may even adopt the lexical items, evaluations, and behaviors used in everyday discourse to serve as analytical constructs in our own theories. Thus, we may observe discourse about "globalization" and claims that "massively increasing diversity" is occurring in a particular field site where lexical items like "globalization", "diversity", "local", and "marginalized" are in use and adopt these same words (and accompanying evaluations) contributing to the border–making projects we are observing being inadvertently inserted into our own analyses (Agha 2015). As contemporary public and scholarly discourse around the world contribute to value projects that redraw ethnolinguistic boundaries to enregister "new" types of contact, the authors in this book seek to disentangle the theoretical machinery needed to analyze contact talk and complexity talk from the processes and products we observe as data. We need this disentanglement to be able to objectively determine whether in any given data sample we are observing increased talk about complexity or observing actual complexification, that is, changes to form and function in semiotic behavior that requires additional cognitive computation or social awareness.

The chapters in this book document a contemporary ebb of power away from previously established centers and the discursive strategies used by speakers to make sense of and capitalize on current fragmentations or to reestablish new centers of power, sometimes linked to those previously established centers and sometimes in opposition to them. By doing so, the authors reestablish their own theoretical center by unifying many disparate theories for conceptualizing language use and change in society. In other words, this book's authors, leaders in the field of Indonesian sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, engage in a boundary-crossing project in the vein of Gumperz and Hymes, to compare and contrast language and society in the Global South, but through shared theoretical machinery.

In the remainder of this introduction, we draw together the work of scholars in this volume and elsewhere to take stock of the theoretical machinery already in use for understanding contact zones and then to develop our two meta-concepts of contact registers and scalar shifters which we suggest provides a productive way of examining semiotic complexity. Some of the pieces used in previous studies and synthesized in our approach include: enregisterment (Agha 2007a; Silverstein 2003; 2005); chronotope (Agha 2007b; Bakhtin 1981; Blommaert 2015; Lempert and Perrino 2007); value (Blommaert 2010; Bourdieu 1991; Heller and Duchêne

2012a); imitation (Bakhtin 1981; Lempert 2014; Silverstein and Urban 1996a); heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981; Blackledge and Creese 2014); superdiversity (Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Vertovec 2007); indexical selectivity (Blommaert 2013; Noy 2009; Scollon and Scollon 2003); and scale (Blommaert 2010; 2015; Wortham 2006). We synthesize these theoretical pieces in order to treat contact talk in a way that covers ideas of connection, mobility, market, social value, brand and identity, and other intended and unintended consequences, into our two meta-constructs. We conclude by introducing the rest of the chapters and highlighting how each chapter exemplifies the usefulness of our proposed meta-concepts.

Contact registers

At a time when we are increasingly aware of the blurred boundaries between languages and the socially constructed nature of named languages (N-languages), this book explores the reconceptualization of contact phenomena via the idea of contact register which contrasts with language contact and contact language perspectives. Language contact and contact languages have often been studied from a primarily lexical and grammatical standpoint with language ideologized as a unitary, pure, and synchronic entity (e.g., Myers-Scotton 1993a; Myers-Scotton 1993b). The shortcomings of such a view are now widely known (e.g., Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998; Auer 1995; Heller 2007; Meeuwis and Blommaert 1994). Work on semiosis, styling and language ideologies invites us to explore contact from a perspective that recognizes that language practices from the past are reused in contemporary contexts as part of all sorts of meaning-making projects (e.g., Agha 2007a; Clonan-Roy et al. 2016b; Cutler 1999; Schieffelin, et al. 1998; Silverstein and Urban 1996a). Drawing on Agha (2007a) and Wortham (2006) we define CONTACT REGISTERS as:

> Sign constellations—linguistic and non-linguistic—that emerge as sign users with different trajectories, and thus semiotic resources, and/or differing understandings of semiotic resources, come into contact.

While the resources brought to specific encounters also include sign constellations that are widely circulating (i.e., semiotic registers) with meanings and social value developed in prior contexts, including associations with purity, normativity and so on, the normativity and meaning of brought along sign constellations is always reflected upon and recontextualized in-*situ*, and the meanings of these recontextualized signs is always negotiated in the ensuing encounter. The new meanings, behaviors, and evaluations that emerge during contact between users of previously enregistered semiotic registers are ephemeral, in the case where participants do not interact again, or they may become more widely circulating in cases where they are imitated beyond the initial origo of contact. We noted above that enregisterment is a historical process whereby particular semiotic features accrue social and cultural value for a particular population to form a semiotic register (Agha 2007a). Enregisterment simultaneously occurs in different timespaces

or SCALES (Blommaert 2015; Blommaert et al. 2015), ranging from two individuals engaged in conversation—that is, a one-to-one participation framework (Goffman 1981)—to a speaker and large audience; that is, a one-to-many participation framework (Agha 2007a). The meanings of semiotic forms used by the participants involved in these frameworks are negotiated (Vološinov 1973 [1929]), often via evaluative commentaries about the appropriateness or normativeness of a particular form. The meaning of signs that are interactionally ratified have not only gained referential meaning, in Silverstein's (1976) sense, but they have also accrued social value and thus indexical meaning for the constellation of participants involved in the interaction. This social value is one of the indexical meanings that also accrues to the referential meaning.

This process can clearly be seen in the chapter by Harr (this volume) who focuses on a visiting politician's mixing of Indonesian with a local language, Lio, on the island of Flores during a political campaign visit. In this case, it is Lio vocabulary for specifying location, such as *mena* which refers to the left hemisphere relative to an uphill-downhill or upstream-downstream axis, assuming a downhill or downstream orientation. Harr describes how *mena* is evaluated as wrong by the elders in the audience who offer *ghale* which means "right" from the point of view of either downstream or downhill. The politician corrects his mistake, thus ratifying the referential meaning of the term offered by these elders. In doing so, he adds indexical value to the term and event in which it is used by acknowledging the value of this term vis-à-vis other terms that were seen as inappropriate. Following Hanks (1992) and Agha (2007a), this event and the emerging meaning for *mena* and *ghale* can be seen as an origo speech event (O) of an emergent semiotic register.

When participants from an origo speech event re-use signs from O in new settings (i.e., O + 1) a similar process of enregisterment occurs, although from this point onwards a two-way relationship between signs and the emergent register of which they are part is possible. For example, the use of a sign from a register can invoke the register and/or the personas and settings associated with this register (Agha 2007a). We see this in the chapters by Ewing, Djenar, and Cole (this volume) where the use of signs invokes particular enregistered identities and simultaneously enable distinctions between personas linked to these registers. The outcome of this contact is an emergent semiotic register (Wortham 2006), or more precisely a contact register. We prefer the latter term because the former terms suggest an ongoing formation process, while the latter leaves open the possibility that the meanings that emerged in an encounter will not be imitated or drawn upon in subsequent encounters.

Contact registers sit in tension with other registers that are outcomes of similar processes of enregisterment, though some may be the outcome of much larger participant constellations that are often institutionally authorized (e.g., through their reuse in schools, media organizations, etc.). The investigation and exemplification of various participation frameworks and the scales of these frameworks is a feature of the chapters in this book. Ewing looks at face-to-face interactions within participation frameworks involving just two or three participants (a one-to-one/few participation framework), while Harr looks at the speeches of political candidates

to a group of local villagers, Donzelli examines political campaigns broadcast on the radio, and Zentz and Cole focus on street signage, language policy documents, commodities and their imagined audiences (all one-to-many participation frameworks).

The extent to which a contact register becomes more enduring and thus has more social value relates to the authority of users (e.g., celebrity, president, sports star, elder, teacher, etc.) and the size and longevity of participation frameworks that re-use signs from the origo event, that is, uptake (Cole and Pellicer 2012). For example, as found elsewhere in the world (Heller 2011), the implementation of school curriculum and representations of models of sign usage in the media were essential for the enregisterment of Indonesian and *bahasa daerah* "regional [ethnic] languages" in Indonesia (Goebel 2008; 2010; 2015). The indexical associations with Indonesian and regional languages were quite different, however, with Indonesian becoming associated with modernity, development, education, knowledge, inter-ethnic communication, nationalism, economic advancement, employment opportunities, and urban-ness, while regional languages became associated with tradition, co-ethnic communication, territory, and rural-ness. While both registers helped to form ethnic models of personhood, most resources were spent on processes that enregistered Indonesian, especially the exemplary version spoken by the president and other authoritative figures who sought to emulate him (e.g., Bjork 2005; Errington 1998a; 2000; Goebel 2015; Kitley 2000). This inequality of support also helped to enregister a hierarchical relationship or an "order of indexicality" (Blommaert 2010), where Indonesian had more social value than regional languages.

Nation-building co-exists with and requires economic processes that can also help to (re)produce registers, while changing their social value and ultimately their semiotic make-up (Heller et al. 2015; Heller and Duchêne 2012b; Hobsbawm 1992; Wallerstein 2004). Scholarship on language and the market, for example, has demonstrated that the search for profit via niche markets can increase the value of local and minority languages, while also making it hard for the state apparatus to regulate how languages are represented in certain social domains (e.g., the papers in Heller and Duchêne 2012a; Pietikäinen, Kelly-Holmes, Jaffe and Coupland 2016; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013). The chapters by Zentz, Goebel, and Cole (this volume) all provide an analysis of how this works in contemporary Indonesia.

While Heller's (2011) work highlights the importance of political movements in the revaluation and reconfiguration of particular semiotic registers, the papers by Harr, Donzelli, and Morin and Goebel (this volume) remind us of other types of profit-seeking. Their work re-invokes one of Bourdieu's (1991) insights about the relationship between language, the market and profit. They show how political candidates interpret and re-use signs from registers that they are only marginally entitled to use to increase their own social value and potential success in gaining profit from an interaction, in this case political contests. By paying explicit attention to the ways that enregisterment occurs in and across various participation frameworks, the chapters in this book model an approach to understanding semiotic complexity that synthesizes insights gained from prior work in these areas.

Imitation is part of any process of enregisterment as demonstrated in many of the chapters in this book. Following Lempert's (2014) comprehensive survey of work on replication, we use "imitation" rather than "copy" or "replication" because it has the sense of signs from some prior context being recontextualized with other signs to form something novel. IMITATION presupposes a semiotic register, but it is not a "replication as precise copy" of that register. Typically, imitations have something old, helping to make the imitation recognizable, and something new, helping to make the imitation interesting or desirable (Urban 2001).

Drawing on Agha (2007a; 2011), Cole (this volume) points out that such combinations help produce effects that differ from effects produced by individual components. These effects include the multiplication of potential audiences and consumers via indexical selectivity or addressivity (Blommaert 2013; Keane 2003; Noy 2009; Scollon and Scollon 2003). Indexical selectivity refers to how the use of particular sign constellations presuppose and select those who have competence to comprehend these sign constellations. As Cole, Zentz, Morin and Goebel, and Donzelli (this volume) show, the combination of semiotic fragments associated with registers of ethnicity, locality, lifestyle, religiosity, global consumption, era, and so on are used to produce new sign configurations in film, and in television and radio broadcasts, clothing, and other commodities, while also modeling new forms of cultural diversity. Similar phenomena are observed in political speeches where vocabulary and signs of "good governance", "tradition", and "the past" are combined in political speeches to create new messages (Donzelli, and Harr, this volume). These combinations have the potential of selecting or being read by a wider audience; that is, those who have competence to comprehend some of the signs, though typically not all of them.

In some cases, there are REGIMES OF IMITATION; defined here as politically sanctioned forms of imitation, which often also help to widen the addressivity potentials of particular sign constellations (i.e., they form semiotic registers), while also setting up the possibility for particular fragments of these registers to be used as scalar shifters (which we discuss in the next section). In his commentary about earlier versions of the papers presented in this book, Kuipers (2015) points out that in the current decentralized period, forms of governance from the New Order period have been imitated at the local level; a point also made by the political scientist Hadiz (2010). During Suharto's New Order period, there was a tendency to bring semiotic forms from the past into the future as a way of creating a sense of "co-evalness" or timeless-ness, and political stability. Donzelli (this volume) analyses this aspect of imitation using the case of material artefacts and monuments in the New Order period. This period is then contrasted with the uptake and imitation of decentralization discourses which imitate these earlier discourses by invoking tradition and ritual as a way of determining rights to territory, resources, and political power (Donzelli, and Harr, this volume).

As part of multiple and complex processes of enregisterment, regimes of imitation do not go uncontested. Morin's and Goebel's (this volume) analysis of talk in film and television show how linguistic signs from a register of Indonesian—indexically

associated with the state, authority, purity, and development—are combined with fragments of Papuan Malay as a way of resisting these indexical associations. This is achieved through the use of territory and linguistic forms from the formula "linguistic form + territory + group = (ethnic)nation". In this case, Papuan Malay was formerly denied a territory under the New Order and even during a large part of the decentralization period because its economic importance to Indonesia over-rode any possibility for an independent Papuan nation with its own territory, language and group (Kuipers 2015). Zentz (this volume) also shows how this contestation can be multi-scalar with signage in a rural Javanese city contesting local and central government rules about the need for signage that is purely in Indonesian, while also sitting in tension with broader decentralization movements in Java that encourage the use of more local languages (Kurniasih 2016).

While the above contestations of imitation are often implicit, there are also much more explicit commentaries, which can be a result of unfamiliarity with the new semiotic configuration we have referred to as a contact register. In addition to providing us with evidence about how change is perceived, these commentaries provide us with clues that change is occurring (Blommaert 2013; Inoue 2006; Urban 2001). Contact registers, can also become enregistered ultimately creating a space where those who inhabit this register evaluate those who imitate it. As a whole, the papers in this volume highlight the importance of focusing on the wheres, whys, whens, hows, and perhaps most importantly the whos, of imitation if we are to understand how indexical selectivity contributes to the emergence and evolution of contact registers into more enduring semiotic registers.

To study a contact register, then, is to study a phenomenon that is necessarily limited in duration, emergent, and inherently variable. Once the new meanings, behaviors, and evaluations become fully enregistered and recognizable as a nameable, categorizable constellation of signs for more than a handful of people, the contact register becomes a semiotic register. This distinction between contact and semiotic registers is important: "Contact register" enables the development of tools needed to examine behaviors that are almost invisible, to identify patterns that have yet to be noticed or named by users, and to understand the ways in which potential semiotic configurations that emerge ephemerally are rejected or fail to be taken up in subsequent interactions. The chapters in this book clarify and demonstrate the utility of the concept of contact register through the examination of a range of discourses and other behavioral phenomena that emerged and are emerging in recent Indonesian history. Moreover, we show how contact register subsumes many existing concepts (e.g., enregisterment, imitation) as set out above, and how in tandem these concepts serve to shed light on "invisible" practices and patterns in and through contact talk.

Scalar shifters

The concept of SHIFTERS developed by Silverstein (1976) has, among other things, helped us understand how the indexical qualities of place and person deictics

enable a shift in participant roles in interaction. However, with the exception of Herzfeld's (1987:154–156) discussion of CULTURAL SHIFTERS – ethnic terms and group labels used for delineating insiders and outsiders—the idea of shifters hasn't had much uptake. It is also unclear from Herzfeld's work how and why such ethnic terms and group labels emerge to become available to facilitate shifts in participant roles. Taking up on initial discussion by Agha (2015) and Kuipers (2015) about shifters, here we distinguish between two types of shifters, cultural and scalar.

We start with CULTURAL SHIFTER, which has been implicitly developed by Herzfield (1987:154–156) in his discussions of ethnic terms and group labels as they relate to delineating insiders and outsiders. Drawing on all of these previous discussions, we define CULTURAL SHIFTERS as:

> Signs used to organize units and unitizations of personhood in discourse to enable the identification of relevant participant frameworks with respect to group membership.

Knowledge of these signs or fragmented knowledge of them is crucial for being able to identify insiders and outsiders in interactional contexts. Understanding the semiotic make-up of cultural shifters enables both participants and analysts to understand who or what is indexing a cultural identity and how these identities are negotiated. For instance, in a conversation among friends about work, one participant who self-identifies as "Greek" can shift everyone's situated interactional identities from a prior interactionally agreed upon shared work identity to Greek and potentially "non-Greek" and/or other individual national identities. In this example, the label "Greek" is used as a cultural shifter. But typically, shifts are much subtler, achieved through the use of multiple signs associated with the relevant units (and unitizations) of personhood and accomplished over a series of speech situations (e.g., Goebel 2010; Wortham 2006; Zimmerman 1998).

The chapters in this collection are replete with many examples of the use of cultural shifters in contemporary Indonesia. Djenar (this volume), for example, shows how "ethnicity" as a cultural shifter is not only imitated as part of a teen-lit text, but also imitated to invoke distinctions between insider and outsider, and moral and amoral models of ethnic personhood. Ewing (this volume) shows how personal pronouns function as cultural shifters to organize ethnic categories in face-to-face interaction as university students use different ethnic terms of reference to claim or distance themselves from ethnic group memberships. The papers by Manns and Musgrave and Goebel show how shifters associated with Javanese-ness are used to distinguish ethnic cores from ethnic peripheries.

Our concept of scalar shifter also builds on the work of Silverstein (1976) and those who are developing ideas about scalarity (e.g., Blommaert 2010, 2015b; Carr & Lempert, 2016). Scalarity has received far more attention from linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics than shifters (e.g., Blommaert 2010; 2013; 2015; Blommaert et al. 2015; Canagarajah and De Costa 2016; Carr and Lempert 2016; Clonan-Roy et al. 2016b; Lempert 2012; Smith and Thompson 2016; Wortham

2006). Wortham's (2005; 2006) early work on scale built on Lemke (2000), seeing developmental time as well as the idea of interdiscursivity as important components of scale. In contrast, Blommaert's (2005; 2008; 2010) early work on scale built on Wallerstein (2000; 2001; 2004) where scale was seen as encompassing time, space, and interactional activity. The combination of time, space and interactional activity produced scale-specific normativities around language practices and those involved in such practices (similar in many ways to the idea of semiotic register). While pieces of these semiotic configurations are resources, sometimes they do not travel well across contexts. For example, a highly valued variety of English spoken in the Congo in a particular timespace by a particular group could become an undervalued resource in the context of asylum interviews and interactions within other institutional settings in Belgium where a different type of English from another timespace would be more appropriate (Blommaert 2010:94–99).

More recently, scale has been seen as an emergent phenomenon which always involves comparison, such as size, height, category, group, and so on (Carr and Lempert 2016). The discursive organization of scale needs an explanation as we try to interpret interactions among people and between people and material objects because—and aligning with our discussion of contact register—in any type of interaction people recontextualize signs and sign constellations from other times and places (e.g., Bauman and Briggs 1990; Blommaert 2015; Clonan-Roy et al. 2016a; Goebel 2010; 2015; Koven 2016; Lempert 2012; Silverstein and Urban 1996b). Thus, as pointed out by Lempert (2012), we should not assume that a face-to-face interaction only involves one scale, but rather involves complex connections between semiotic resources from different scales. "Scale" in our concept of scalar shifter refers both to the remapping of a semiotic fragment to widen or narrow its range of potential referents as well as to the outcome of discursive processes (including enregisterment and mediatization) that increases or decreases a semiotic fragment's (potential for) uptake).

As an analytic focus, cultural shifters are undoubtedly useful, but as Blommaert (2015) and Agha (2015) assert, it is essential to realize their limitations. Drawing on Bakhtin's (1981:84–258) essay "Forms of time and of the chronotope in the novel" and the ideas of chronotope developed there, together with the notions of scale discussed earlier, Blommaert (2015) points out that conceptualizing chronotopes as personas that are analyzable across the "traditional" and "horizontal" focus of sociolinguistics, leaves out the vertical dimensions of these chronotopes. What is meant by this vertical dimension is how (signs from) the semiotic configuration of personhood developed in another timespace (i.e., scale) can be recontextualized to make meaning at another scale. Agha (2015) points out that the denotata of terms such as *ethnicity*, *global*, *local*, *youth*, *core*, and *periphery* index chronotopic formulations that also have an intrinsic scale. Specific interlocutors use words like *local* or *global* in determinant ways intelligible to those specific interlocutors precisely because they share a model for interpreting those signs within a given participation framework that relies on a shared scalar understanding of the denotational and indexical range of the term (Agha 2015). Similarly, ideas about what constitutes debate in a

Tibetan monastery relies upon scaled connections between setting, participants, and ways of speaking in a way that requires analysts to recognize and explore the scalar dimensions of debate when trying to understand what is going on in such encounters (Lempert 2012).

Shared understanding of terms like *local*, *global*, and *youth*, and the delimitation of this understanding, is influenced by participants' respective trajectories of socialization (Wortham 2006). If participants have grown up together in the same locale, went to the same school, been taught by the same teacher, consumed the same media, experienced the same social and political conditions, and so on, then they will have similar competence to comprehend and perform similar sign constellations; in Bourdieusian terms they will share a similar habitus. In contrast, for participants who were schooled in different schools, in a different era, and so on, then there will be less shared competence. We attempt to capture what Blommaert (2015) terms this "vertical" axis of indexical meaning by proposing a second type of shifter—SCALAR SHIFTER—which explicitly addresses "scale" while subsuming the concept of cultural shifter. We define SCALAR SHIFTERS as:

> Signs used to organize units and unitizations of scale in discourse to enable the identification of relevant participant frameworks with respect to timespace, and/or size.

As with cultural shifters, scalar shifters are typically made up of sign constellations that are linked with particular semiotic registers, but the substitution of "cultural" for "scalar" invites us to ask "semiotic registers from which period, from where, as recognized and/or used by which population, and *for* and/or *to* what scalar effect?" People use scalar shifters to move between and across registers functioning at different scales as we illustrate below with Blommaert's (2010, 2015b) references to *I/we* shifting and the use of *once upon a time*.

Blommaert (2010:35) implicitly makes reference to scalar shifters when recounting this discussion between a tutor (T) and a PhD student (S):

S: I'll start my dissertation with a chapter reporting on my fieldwork.
T: We start our dissertations with a literature review here.

The tutor here selects the scalar shifter *we* to perform a scale-jump and position social practices (in this case writing a dissertation) beyond the current interaction and with reference to wider, social normativity. Blommaert (2015b), though not using the term scalar shifter, also points out how the phrase *once upon a time* invokes a timeless narrative that might create expectations in a reader, of fantasy and adventure. We propose in the current book that labeling the forms which enable such scale-jumps provides a useful empirical focus for understanding the role that such jumps play in the organization of language and social life.

Models for the analysis of the use and interpretation of scalar shifters abound in this volume. The chapters by Djenar, Zentz, Manns and Musgrave, and Cole

provide analyses of the use of scalar shifters to identify the size and distribution of the participation frameworks relevant for the consumption of novels, street signage, Internet commentaries, and T-shirts. Donzelli's and Harr's chapters show how scalar shifters from the three major periods in Indonesia's history converge in speeches and radio advertisements. Manns and Musgrave's chapter shows how signs of Javanese-ness in celebrity tweets figure in acts of distinction that help to identify Javanese speakers as "old-fashioned" and Indonesian speakers as exemplars of the modern metropole, rescaling what counts as center and periphery. Zentz (this volume) shows how a valued ethnic register from the past is invoked in acts of self-marginalization by students who distinguish their peripheral ethnic register from this valued register of the past. Djenar's chapter shows how signs of ethnicity simultaneously are used to invoke tradition and modernity.

Our conceptualization of scalar shifters as signs used to organize units and unitizations of scale in discourse to enable the identification of relevant participant frameworks with respect to timespace, and/or size builds upon previous discussions of scale by explicitly treating the formation of scalar shifters as something in need of explanation when examining scale-making projects. By adding scalar shifters to discussions of scale making, we can come to a more precise understanding of how people semiotize social order and its relevance to immediate, contextual understanding in border making and in contact talk.

Structure of the book

We are sensitive to the different levels of familiarity our readers will have with Indonesia and so before diving into the theoretical discussions that follow, the second chapter provides an introduction to a suite of complex ideas about language in Indonesia, to set the stage for our contributors to take up on Wallerstein's (2004) general point about the importance of historicizing events. As an introduction to the processes that helped to form scalar shifters as part of emerging semiotic registers of Indonesian and ethnic languages, Chapter 2 starts by outlining how one variety of Malay was developed into a national language *Bahasa Indonesia* "Indonesian" through colonial policy and then post-colonial nation-building. These development efforts contrasted with far less attention being paid to the hundreds of ethnic languages spoken by Indonesians. In this section, much will be made of the New Order enregisterment of one semiotic register (labeled SR1, and entailing in the most general sense, the constellations of signs associated with the Indonesian language and New Order language ideologies) and a second semiotic register (labeled SR2, and entailing the constellation of signs associated with languages other than Indonesian). As Chapter 2 turns to more recent times we find that after experimentation with democracy in the 1950s, followed by forty years of authoritarian rule, Indonesia has undergone massive economic, social, political, cultural, and linguistic change in a relatively short period of time (Aspinall and Fealy 2003a; Elson 2008). While much of this change has been attributed to democratization and big bang

decentralization, where nearly all the roles of the political and bureaucratic center where devolved to what has become a growing number of districts, this chapter describes some of the complex connections that were part of this process, including the relationship with internal mobility, the market, the rising value of localness and how this all impacted on how regional (ethnic) languages were perceived vis-à-vis the national language.

In a nutshell, since 2001 there has been a rescaling and revaluing of every area of social life. The national language, Indonesian, has been revalued from a policed code to one where it is normal to see fragments of Indonesian being mixed with a number of regional languages in televised representations (Goebel 2015), a situation that was not possible before 1990 (Kitley 2000). This mixing—which was formerly stigmatized by the state and by Indonesians themselves and often relegated to "private" social relations—has been rescaled to become public with politicians and bureaucrats reusing fragments of local languages to get bureaucratic, religious, and political work done (Aspinall 2011; Goebel 2007; 2014; Kuipers 2013; Harr and Donzelli this volume). Some of the major regional ethnic languages, such as Javanese and Sundanese, have gained social value vis-à-vis Indonesian with major up-scaling efforts occurring in the domains of schooling, the media, and government offices (e.g., Arps 2010; Goebel 2015; Moriyama 2012; Quinn 2012; Rachmah 2006). In many of the outer islands, decentralization has sped up processes of language endangerment and death (e.g., Jukes 2010), while in other places it has provided a new environment for the revitalization of some local languages (e.g., Goebel et al. 2017; Morin and Goebel this volume; Sudarkam Mertono 2014), which then set up conditions for the production of further distinctions and inequality.

The rest of the chapters in this book are organized into three sections. The three chapters in the first section, "Contesting leaky boundaries", present a variety of contexts (including political speeches, public signage, and reflections on language learning) in which SR1 and SR2 (introduced earlier and discussed at length in Chapter 2) came into contact in post-Suharto Indonesia. They document the types of discursive behaviors that worked to dissolve the boundaries between the two semiotic registers and to enable their ensuing contact. The two chapters in the section "Rescaling shifting identities" demonstrate the range of semiotic resources that are used to rescale identity categories and to realign them with rescaled geosocial metaphors in the production of contact talk. These resources include textual representations of accent, and the wearing of "traditional" clothes. The four chapters in the final section, "Enregistering contact" document the emergence of contact registers out of interactions between SR1 and SR2. The data in these chapters range in scope from pronoun usage, to public speeches and television representations. The book ends with a conclusion that could just as well be read as an introduction given that the analytical approach taken in the chapters are a response to the points made therein. We turn here to an overview of the contribution of each chapter in turn.

Section I—Contesting leaky boundaries

In Chapter 3, Harr documents the erosion of the boundaries between SR1 and SR2 and the reconfiguration of the shifters "local", "traditional", and "national" as SR 2 moves into the discursive space of political language, formerly the exclusive purview of SR 1. Harr both examines some of the unintended consequences of value projects and its relationship to semiotic complexity, while providing a different example of how scalar shifters can be used to hopefully profit in political contests. One unexpected consequence of Indonesia's regional autonomy legislation has been a widespread and heterogeneous "revival of tradition" in regional politics (Davidson and Henley 2007;Vel 2008). Relatively un-noted within this revival is the emerging importance of local languages in some district level elections. People who had been accustomed during the New Order to being addressed by politicians in the Indonesian language, found themselves addressed by district executive (*bupati*) candidates in local languages that index local ethnolinguistic identities. Drawing data from the first election of a district executive in the central Florinese district of Ende in 2008, this chapter argues that in some cases the revaluation of local languages in electoral politics results from the intersection of the decentralized territoriality of the Indonesian state with local "semiotic ideologies" (Keane 2007) that are constructed in terms of "centers" and "margins" (Fox 1997; Kuipers 1998; Tambiah 1973). This chapter further considers whether speakers of local languages are empowered by this revaluation.

In Chapter 4, Zentz's study of the changing language policies surrounding the official boundaries between Indonesian and Javanese in central Java offers glimpses into nearly invisible contact registers and a discursive rescaling of the cultural shifters "Javanese" and "Indonesian". Zentz reviews three data sets gathered from Salatiga, Central Java (public signage, interviews with young Javanese and discourse associated with the government's initiative to introduce local content into schools). Among other things, Zentz shows how ethnic and national language descriptors are used as scalar shifters to position self and others as students engaged in self-critique of their abilities in high Javanese, and report about how other Indonesians negatively perceive their accent when speaking Indonesian. Zentz's also highlights the "syncretic" (Geertz 1960; Hill and Hill 1986) and "bivalent" (Woolard and Genovese 2007) nature of Indonesians' language practices where it is increasingly difficult to identify lexemes as belonging to ideologized named languages, such as Indonesian, Javanese and English (Errington 1998b). But perhaps most importantly Zentz shows that multivalent "languaging" over time may become what policy makers wish it to be, and that "top down" legislation continues to influence everyday language ideologies and use, even in the post-Reform era.

Chapter 5, by Donzelli, broadens the focus on complexity while demonstrating the use of scalar shifters in zones of contact between competing ideologies and their accompanying semiotic registers. This is done by examining how Indonesia has become the stage of a rampant ideology of transnational neoliberal democracy. Epitomized by emphatic appeals to "transparency" and "good governance",

this new ideology emerged as the discursive leitmotiv underlying the structural implementation of a radical program of decentralization endorsed by transnational neoliberal agencies (IMF, World Bank, Asian development Bank). Drawing on audiovisual data recorded in a peripheral region of upland Sulawesi, this chapter examines the re-articulation of the interplay between speech forms and forms of political rationality in contemporary Indonesia. While at first sight post-Suharto public discourse seems pervaded by a hegemonic ideology of transnational neoliberal democracy that leaves little room for local interpretations, a closer look reveals a more complex picture.

This chapter engages this complexity by offering an account of crossover forms of intertextuality produced through an emerging aesthetics of "the vintage" and "the peripheral". It discusses how the usage of regional language (Toraja) and the deployment of formulas of anticolonial rhetoric are used as scalar shifters to convey enhanced oratorical agency and political radicalism. Besides undermining the authority of bureaucratic Indonesian, the deployment of linguistic "pastness" and locality allows an aesthetic re-articulation of the New Order's chronotopic representation of the Indonesian nation-state: the imagining of national time as anchored in an aesthetics of "present-ness" (Pemberton 1994) and the representation of the State as a spatial entity marked by "vertical encompassment" (Ferguson and Gupta 2002). Through framing political discourse as a site for examining the shifts in the politics of locality and temporality currently taking place in Indonesia, this case brings the focus on situated communicative interaction to bear on the study of cultural friction (Tsing 2005) underlying the global processes of late capitalism.

Section II—Rescaling shifting identities

In Chapter 6, Manns and Musgrave examine how registers relating to the national and to the regional and ethnic co-exist in another social domain, this time an online forum, and how scalar shifters are used to present self and others as non-ethnic and metropolitan or ethnic and rural. In particular, their chapter examines the evolving nature of language and identity in post-Reform Indonesia by investigating the use of language variation to instigate and resolve ethnic-national tensions in online forums. The authors show how language variation in contact talk emerges against the backdrop of existing semiotic registers by examining a discussion of ethnicity begun on Twitter and continued across a series of speech events in the online forum *Kaskus*. These discussions often entail the strategic elevation of the ethnic self and the strategic denigration of the ethnic other, and the authors illustrate how language variation is implicated in either strategy making the discursive organization of boundaries clearly visible.

This chapter demonstrates particularly saliently how the concept of scalar shifters might be used to understand the reorganization or rescaling of hubs and peripheries in contemporary Indonesia. This chapter highlights how language ideologies promoting Jakarta as *the* hub for models of language use in Indonesia

are asserted (or "upscaled") and contested (or "downscaled") across these online forums. It shows through these forums a competing model of "diversity" and the "diverse Indonesian" (cf. Cole 2010) emerges for a regional hub, Surabaya. In doing so, Manns and Musgrave join the others in this volume in showing that Jakarta, rather than being *the* hub, is one of many hubs promoting language ideologies and use in post-Reform Indonesia. The chapter also lends credence to the observation of other scholars (e.g., Cole 2010; Goebel 2010) in showing how "adequation", or the pursuit of sameness in interactions, contributes to a de-naturalization of New Order ideologies. The chapter concludes that the internet provides yet one more context that can be enregistered as either a periphery or as a center, through which New Order ideologies of language become contested, re-imagined, and de-naturalized in the post-Reform era (see Goebel 2008). Thus, through the internet, the contact talk about "local", "ethnic" selves may explore and resolve tensions around what it means to be a member of the wider, Indonesian community.

In Chapter 7, Djenar examines Indonesian literature written for teenagers (teenlit) to show how signs of ethnic-ness are used as scalar shifters to mediate social relationships and to represent and connect a series of stances in representations of tradition, modernity, and globalization. Djenar shows how the revival of local identities that has been ongoing in Indonesia since 2001, is reconfigured and represented as part of the localization of a global literary genre, that of adolescent interaction in "teenlit". In teenlit, adolescents are presented as individuals with awareness of the impact of contact with the products and practices of globalization on local language and cultural practices. In these novels, middle-class adolescents speaking in Jakartan Indonesian are placed in generic and discursive contact with those from other ethnolinguistic groups to discursively construct the peripheral status of ethnic languages, while also reproducing boundaries between these languages and others. In this sense, teenlit has become a form of globalization discourse. This discourse enables alignment with, and the construction and linking of local identities and local languages.

An important contribution of Djenar's chapter is her analysis of the discursive moves used to construct margins, centers, and heterogeneous ethnic communities and how this all relates to the construction of central characters in the three novels analyzed. In short, this chapter shows how representations of encounters with locals enables the development of glocal characters. In so doing, her analysis of these teenlit novels contributes to an emerging literature on the discursive production of centers and peripheries in general (Kroon and Swanenberg 2018; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013; Pietikäinen et al. 2016), and in Indonesia in particular (Goebel 2018; Goebel et al. 2016), while highlighting one further dimension of what we refer to as semiotic complexity. In doing so, this chapter demonstrates how talk aiming to restructure the borders between semiotic registers relies on previously enregistered boundaries and can have unintended effects for the future valuation of semiotic resources on either side of a semiotic boundary.

Section III—Enregistering contact

Chapter 8, by Goebel, examines how television representations of interaction provide models of contact talk. In doing so, he develops his ongoing work on different forms of contact and their effects (Goebel 2019). His chapter draws inspiration from a broad range of work that focuses on processes of register formation, human contact, and social value to propose the idea of modeling contact talk. He uses the term model to refer to how such representations model language in social life as well as how certain models have more social value than others. He uses the term contact as a cover term that emphasizes that all human contact represents contact between strangers. Talk refers not just to the exchange of semiotic forms in encounter but also to their discursive evaluation during encounter.

In Chapter 9, Ewing examines data from recorded face-to-face interactions and interviews with Indonesian university students. These recordings were made in the Sundanese speaking heartland of Bandung in West Java. His chapter exemplifies the emergence of semiotic complexity in contact talk by showing how these speakers use fragments of their own regional ethnic language, Sundanese, especially pronouns and kin terms to take interactional stances while using or understanding the use of other ethnic pronouns and terms of address and reference that are not part of what would ideologically be referred to as the language of the home. In this case, these participants mix, often in one utterance, Sundanese, Jakartan/Betawi, and Indonesian pronouns and terms of address and reference to take stances and display particular interactional identities. Semiotic complexity becomes part of the frame as we find out that those who use colloquial Jakartan Indonesian have been in contact with these forms through visits to Jakarta, but also through television and other mass media which has produced competence to comprehend such forms. In short, the pronouns and terms of reference and address used are scalar shifters that invoke ethnic and other identities in talk, while forming a contact register that is recognizable and oriented to by this small group of participants.

The chapter by Morin and Goebel (Chapter 10) continues to exemplify our concept of contact register while embedding this in the ongoing complexification of language and social life in the province of Papua. Morin and Goebel take a historical look at how a contact register developed into Papuan Malay (PM) in the Dutch colonial period, and at how PM was then devalued with the incorporation of Dutch Papua into Indonesia in 1969. Morin and Goebel trace the semiotic registers associated with PM to contemporary times where they point out that in recent years (since around 2006) the usage of PM moved across the boundaries of semiotic registers. Whereas previously it was enregistered as a peripheral language for use in private contexts, it has now moved into some public spheres, such as the media, political campaign signage, and road signage. As with many of the early papers, we find that a decrease in surveillance of boundaries has enabled the emergence of this contact register in these social domains.

In Chapter 11, Cole investigates a value project to create and promote a commodity register to formulate a "diverse identity" as emblematic of the city of Jogjakarta, Central Java. It takes as its data the products of a popular souvenir company, *Aseli Bikinan Dagadu Djokdja*, which was launched by a group of architecture students from Gadjah Mada University in 1994. The company's history spans the final years of Suharto's centralized government, the reformasi era of decentralization, and the present. The signs produced for sale on t-shirts, stickers, key chains, and other souvenirs provide rich data for advancing a materialist theory of signs that sees them "as material forces subject to and reflective of conditions of production and patterns of distribution, and as constructive of social reality … having real effects in social life" (Blommaert 2013:38).

These data demonstrate the materiality of emergent contact registers in signs and media that extend beyond the purely linguistic. The analysis reveals how patterns of production and consumption contribute to the creation of new semiotic configurations whose interpretations depend entirely on their readers' prior contact with fragments from different contexts and on their willingness and ability to decode their meanings within the present context. Finally, this chapter clarifies our understanding of the dialogic and heteroglossic processes by which signs are emplaced in the linguistic landscape, select their audiences for uptake, and participate in the enskillment and knowledging of those who read and make use of them.

Given the time lapse between the initial presentation of papers, their revision, and the putting together of this collection, the final chapter by Goebel is a coda which highlights how the collection continues to be timely and fresh, addressing many contemporary sociolinguistic concerns. It starts by looking at professional ideologies in relation to the publication of area-studies collections, before then moving to recent conceptual developments as they relate to scalar shifters, chronotopes, and the terminological flurry of work looking at mixed language practices (e.g., translanguaging, metrolingualism, polylanguaging, contact discourse, and so forth). The chapter ends by outlining some of the methodological implications of this collections for sociolinguistic inquiry.

Note

1 We use small caps here to indicate that this is a technical term. After defining this term and others using small caps we revert to normal font. In cases where these terms are used in other senses, we explain these other nuances in-*situ*.

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2

INDONESIA AND INDONESIAN

Howard Manns, Deborah Cole and Zane Goebel

Introduction

Indonesia is a relatively new nation, only obtaining independence from the Netherlands in 1949. It is an archipelago nation made up of over 17,000 islands and is one of the most linguistically diverse places on the planet. Much of Indonesia's nation-building efforts have revolved around building unity and managing diversity among a rapidly growing and mobile population. While highly centralized schooling and media helped achieve unity, especially from 1966 onward (Bjork 2005; Kitley 2000), the commodification of language in the media (Kitley 2000; Loven 2008; Sen and Hill 2000), regime change in 1998, and the large-scale decentralization that began in 2001 all contributed to unprecedented complexity (Goebel 2015). For example, the political and fiscal decentralization of 2001 led to a democratization of the political process on a scale not seen before (Aspinall and Mietzner 2010), rapid territorial fragmentation (Aspinall 2013), ongoing interethnic and interreligious conflicts (Hedman 2008), increases in the value of ethnicity (Davidson and Henley 2007), and rapid urbanization that increased interethnic contact (Goebel 2010; Goebel 2015).

This book examines the sociolinguistic context of post-Reform Indonesia, more than 20 years after the fall of Suharto. Suharto and his New Order government ruled Indonesia from 1966 to 1998. The New Order sought to control every aspect of what it meant to be Indonesian and to speak Indonesian. In its multiple forms, Indonesian plays a significant role in uniting more than 600 ethnolinguistic groups across the archipelago and the New Order's language policies played no small role in Indonesian's success. That said, the seeds for Indonesian as a unifying language for hundreds of ethnolinguistic groups were planted much earlier, and indeed much earlier than the 1928 event that is often cited as the baptismal event for Indonesia.[1] By the time of the 1928 youth congress, approximately 5 percent

of the archipelago already spoke this variety of Malay (Sneddon 2003:105). Since then, nearly 90 years of language planning and standardization has left a largely Indonesian-literate society in its wake.

Yet, post-Reform Indonesia is a topsy-turvy linguistic hub where notions of "Indonesian literacy" and ethnic, national and global languages and identities remain in flux. James Sneddon (2003:199–203) points out that poor survey design means that true Indonesian literacy may not be known and is minimally overstated. For instance, speakers of post–Creole Malay varieties across the archipelago might claim proficiency in Indonesian as would some rural villagers who had only encountered Indonesian in school (Sneddon 2003). Perhaps most problematic in the Indonesian context is that official institutional language surveys have often precluded the possibility of bilingualism or multilingualism in the home. In other words, many studies (e.g., Kurniasih 2006; Smith-Hefner 2009) by now have noted a shift toward the national language. Yet, these studies also show that speakers maintain local, ethnic languages, especially in the home and neighborhood. For instance, Kurniasih (2006) shows how women in Java led the shift to Indonesian in their own practices and in interactions with their children, but also shows that men maintain Javanese through the same behavior. Goebel's (2010) work demonstrates that migrants within Indonesia often adopt the local, ethnic languages of the neighborhoods in which they settle rather than using Indonesian, which has historically been posited as an interethnic lingua franca of sorts in the Indonesian context.

The Indonesian case saliently illustrates a rapidly growing area of scholarship on language and superdiversity[2] (e.g., Blommaert 2010, 2013; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011) and thusly makes a useful focus for understanding contemporary sociolinguistic processes, and how these processes emerge from historical precedents. The superdiverse nature of contemporary Indonesia is not new but rather the newest manifestation of a historically rich, heterogeneous linguascape. Indonesia's many local, ethnic languages are often typologically similar and this means speakers seamlessly and often subconsciously shift between languages (Errington 1998). Indonesians often view such switching derisively as *bahasa gado gado* (language salad), but theorists seek to understand how such switching contributes to emerging syncretic systems (Errington 1998). In any case, in line with superdiversity scholars, the Indonesian case problematizes the notion of named language varieties (e.g., "Indonesian", "Balinese"), and it is often more useful to think of Indonesians' linguistic (in)competence in terms of truncated repertoires, which consist of "highly specific 'bits' of language and literacy values … that reflects … fragmented and highly diverse life-trajectories and environments …" (Blommaert 2010:8).

Heteroglossia during Dutch colonial times

Along such trajectories, language and literacy are not ideologically neutral but rather imbued with ideological sameness and difference and consequently semiotic potential (Coupland 2007; Irvine 2001). In Indonesia, as in many places, these samenesses and differences are characterized by tensions between centripetal hubs

and peripheries, the latter of which seek to usurp and/or redefine power bases, and the former to maintain power and "standards". Since the 16th century, Indonesia's political and linguistic history has been defined by the powerful centripetal force of Dutch colonial power and then national authority. When the Dutch arrived in the 16th century, they were both frustrated and awed by the archipelago's linguistic heterogeneity (Maier 1993; Matauschek 2014). Maier (1993:48) implicitly conjures notions of registers (and chronotopes) when he writes the Indies represent "the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and past, different epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles, and so forth". However, Maier (1993) points out that such heteroglossia often falls victim to some hegemonic center, concerned with forging language and society in a way in which a central, centripetal force gains the upper hand.

The Dutch firstly sat at this hegemonic center from the 16th century until Indonesian independence in 1949. Dutch attitudes toward the archipelago's inhabitants were varyingly racist and aloof or well-intentioned but condescending (Robson 2002; Sneddon 2003). Most notably, in terms of language, the Dutch brought to the archipelago Golden Age myths and prescriptive ideologies (Maier 1993) that were utilized to manage diversity and administer a colonial economy. The Dutch remained averse to the locals learning the Dutch language for political among other reasons (the writer Raden Ajeng Kartini once mused sarcastically, "Dutch is too beautiful to be uttered by a brown mouth" [Robson 2002:29]). However, the Dutch viewed the elevation and imposition of one Malay variety, a literary Malay spoken by the Riau-Johor Sultanate, on the populace as a means for "civilizing" the Indies (Sneddon 2003). While the process of standardizing this variety was uneven across the archipelago (e.g., Moriyama 2005), these practices were central to forming the first links between this Malay variety, education, modernity and development (Robson 2002). From the outset, the Dutch and then Indonesian authorities imbued this Malay variety with authority and implicitly and explicitly marginalized speakers of other languages and Malay varieties (Maier 1993). Nationalist leaders selected this Malay variety to be *Bahasa Indonesia* (the language of Indonesia) in 1928 and it became the national language at independence.

Developing a language of the nation: the Suharto era

Standard Indonesian became the authoritative language of the state and perhaps nowhere clearer than during Suharto's New Order (1966–1998). The New Order sought to centralize and control the Indonesian population under the guise of nationalism. The New Order set out to accomplish this through its *Pembangunan* (Development) Program. Suharto was *Bapak Pembangunan* (the Father of Development) and Standard Indonesian was *bahasa pembangunan* (the language of development) (Errington 1998:59). Suharto had an "uncompromising stance on language", calling on Indonesians to use the government-prescribed Standard Indonesian (McDaniel 1994:251). Suharto and his government promoted this

ideology in education, the media and government institutions. Through such practices, links grew between Standard Indonesian and social meanings, such as development, truth, evaluation, objectivity and authority (Errington 1998; Goebel 2010). Standard Indonesian emerged as a semiotic register (SR1, in Goebel's [2010] terms), and its use could convey these social meanings.

The New Order's unyielding, top-down vision for the development of a modern state relegated ethnic (and other) identities to a secondary, peripheral sphere. The government encouraged Indonesians to view their national identity first and their ethnic identity second. More so, the New Order sought to control perceptions of the latter through public policy, schooling and commodification. In contrast to one's "modern" Indonesian self, the New Order sought to define the ethnic as quaint and backwards through public acts like the creation of *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* (Miniature Garden of Beautiful Indonesia) in Jakarta (Pemberton 1994). *Taman Mini* is a Disneyland-like park, consisting of traditional ethnic homes and displays of regional, ethnic culture. *Taman Mini* contributed to the New Order's desire to commodify and domesticate ethnic culture, within the Indonesian sphere, helping to (re)produce links between ethnicity region, attire, housing, custom and tourism (Goebel 2010).

Amidst this peripheral, ethnic sphere, a second semiotic register (SR2 in Goebel's [2010] terms) began to emerge. SR2 functioned in many ways in contrast to Standard Indonesian (SR1). Where the language and ideologies of SR1 were monologic and authoritative, those of SR2 were much more complex. SR2 is largely associated with languages other than Indonesian (LOTI), ethnicity and region. Within ethnic and regional spheres, SR2 functions to index intimacy, closeness and in-group status (Goebel 2010). SR1 in these intimate ethnic spheres was the language of the "other." More so, as Errington (1998:3) flags, SR1 was an outgroup without a "they." Standard Indonesian was the language one used in impersonal communications with the ethnic other, but even then only as a last resort. Goebel (2010) points out that intimacy in the ethnic sphere generally requires knowledge of the SR2. However, in decidedly Indonesian spheres, especially official ones, SR2 could carry a sense of backwardness or *kampungan* (villageness or hick-ness). Ultimately, New Order ideologies left in their wake a distinction between practices that were either *kuno* (old, ancient) or *maju* (advanced) (see Kitley 2000; Sutton 1996), and SR1 and SR2 were often implicated in indexing one or the other.

Regime change, reform and language

The New Order fell in 1998 due to a complex set of factors, including the Asian financial crisis, corruption and student unrest. Indonesia underwent *Reformasi*, which included "one of the most radical decentralization programs attempted anywhere in the world" (Aspinall and Fealy 2003:9). In 2001, new decentralization legislation put more political power and fiscal resources and responsibilities into the hands of districts rather than Indonesia's provinces (Aspinall and Fealy

2003). Since 2001, there has been a rescaling and revaluing of every area of social life. With relaxed media regulations, and less intrusion from the government, the archipelago's inhabitants were freer to pursue what it meant to be Indonesian and speak Indonesian on their own terms (Clark 2004; Cole 2010). On the one hand, *Reformasi* led to a sense of confusion and aimlessness. For instance, the film *Jelangkung* explicitly dealt with the aimlessness and alienation of Indonesian men after the fall of the New Order (Clark 2004). On the other hand, and perhaps more saliently, *Reformasi* marked a time of opportunity. Jurriëns (2009), drawing on Derks, likens the New Order/post–New Order periods to a mushroom's underground mycelium. Denied light, heteroglossic practices during the New Order largely existed suppressed and underground, only occasionally sprouting into the public sphere. However, Jurriëns (2009:21) writes:

> Reformasi can … be seen as a process, which, by vehemently unleashing the anger and creative energy that had been stored in society for so long, has reversed and undermined social hierarchies in a manner relatively similar to Bakhtin's carnival.

Artists, writers, undesirables and youth, not necessarily mutually exclusive, have emerged as key agents in defining what it means to be Indonesian and speak Indonesian (Baulch 2007; Cole 2010; Djenar, Ewing and Manns 2018). And this means renegotiating the traditional Indonesian "hub", the emergence of new hubs and tensions with the peripheries at which such hubs are often negotiated. More so, in line with the current book, it provides a rich backdrop for investigating semiotic complexity.

Post-Reform Indonesia has already undergone significant changes in the valuation of local, national and global languages and cultures. The national language, Indonesian, has been revalued from a policed code to one where it is normal to see fragments of Indonesian being mixed with a number of regional languages in televised representations (Goebel 2015), a situation that was not possible before 1990 (Kitley 2000). This mixing, which was formerly stigmatized by the state and by Indonesians themselves and often relegated to "private" social relations, has been rescaled to become public with politicians and bureaucrats reusing fragments of local languages to get bureaucratic, religious and political work done (Aspinall 2013; Goebel 2014; Kuipers 2013). Some of the major regional languages, such as Javanese and Sundanese, have gained social value vis-à-vis Indonesian with major up-scaling efforts occurring in the domains of schooling, the media, and government offices (e.g., Arps 2010; Goebel 2015; Moriyama 2012; Quinn 2012; Rachmah 2006). In many of the outer islands, decentralization has speed up processes of language endangerment and death (e.g., Jukes 2010), while in some places providing a new environment for the revitalization of some local languages (e.g., Sudarkam Mertono 2014), which then potentially set up the conditions for the production of further distinctions and inequality, as in places elsewhere in the world (Heller and Duchêne 2012:4).

This book brings together a series of scholars concerned with the (re-)valuation and/or the (re-)negotiation of social meaning and semiotic complexity in Post-Reform Indonesia. In a very general sense, these scholars are concerned with what it means to *language* and/or *knowledge* (as verbs) in contemporary Indonesia.[3] In semiotic terms, *languaging* refers to the process through which a speaker/writer exploit a linguistic sign's historical meaning within an immediate context (Tannen 2007). The current book's authors have been concerned with how linguistic meanings perdure and/or get reformulated across and within contexts. *Knowledging* may be defined as the "ability to comprehend or evaluate semiotic fragments that do not normally form part of a person's habitually used semiotic repertoires" (Goebel 2015:9). Social media and communication technologies have had a profound influence on Indonesia and Indonesians. Many scholars have pointed out by now the influence of commodified and mediated landscape on the lifestyle and language choices of everyday Indonesians (e.g., Ibrahim 2007; Gerke 2000; Smith-Hefner 2007). Many of the current book's authors have directly engaged with how speakers comprehend, evaluate and *language* translocal styles.

Along these lines, this book provides a forum for language scholars engaged with Indonesia to explore synergies in their semiotic-focused works. This book's authors engage with some of the most critical debates in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. Indonesia provides a rich context for engaging with these debates, so it is arguably no accident the theoretical interests of this book's authors intersect with the most pressing and/or influential issues in post-Reform Indonesia. Goebel's work has varyingly engaged with enregisterment (e.g., 2010) and superdiversity (e.g., 2015). For instance, he (2010) draws on the insights of Agha (2005, 2007) to show how a highly mobile and rapidly urbanizing Indonesian population engages in interethnic interactions and by doing so enregister new, meaningful ways of speaking. Goebel (2015) also examines how Indonesians at home and abroad understand and engage with signs linked to ethnolinguistic groups and use this knowledge to enact situated identities. This is particularly valuable at a time in which there is a revitalization of ethnic identity resulting in shifting semiotics around voicing and identity, which are key research concerns of Cole (2010, 2014). She draws on this work in this book to develop her notion of the *diverse Indonesian persona* and discussions of how previously marginalized identities have returned to the fore in the marketplace and day-to-day practices.

Youth, globalization and social media are powerful social catalysts in the post-Reform era and have provided rich contexts for study by a number of the current volume's researchers. Djenar, Ewing and Manns have been interested in Indonesian youth as catalysts for change across a range of text types, including spoken interactions, online interactions, radio broadcasts, teen lit and comics (Djenar 2012, 2015; Djenar and Ewing 2015; Djenar, Ewing and Manns 2018; Manns 2011, 2014). Much of their work seeks to understand how style and intersubjectivity as theoretical concepts shed light on perduring meaning within and across these texts types. Zentz (2012, 2014) explores the influence of English in Indonesia, and theoretically how linguistic biographies lead to an expanded linguistic repertoire, influenced by

wider, local, national and global factors. Along similar lines, many of this book's authors are concerned with how historical circumstances and local, national and global issues come to bear on interactions. Donzelli, Harr and Morin engage with the linguistic ideologies and practices of regional settings beyond the island of Java. Donzelli (2004, 2007) works on the shifting languages of the Toraja highlands of Sulawesi, Harr (2013, 2015) explores language, especially in political/electoral contexts, on the island of Flores and Morin and Goebel (this volume) focuses on the shifting ideologies around the use of Papuan Malay.

Conclusion

The Indonesian context has long served as a source of interest for language scholars. Joshua Fishman (1978) called the imposition of Indonesian on more than 600 ethnolinguistic groups "miraculous". Javanese's complex speech levels have long served as a source of theoretical interest (e.g., Agha 2007; Errington 1988; Irvine 2001; Silverstein 1976), and the study of Indonesia's Javanese and Balinese groups led Clifford Geertz (1973) to assert the need for "thick" ethnographic descriptions. In the realm of semiotics, the notion of languaging (referred to earlier) finds its roots in Alton Becker's observations about the context-shaping nature of language use in Indonesia. Tannen (2007:10), reviewing Becker, notes, "[a]ll languaging is what in Java is called *jarwa dhosok*, taking old language (*jarwo*) and pushing (*dhosok*) it into new contexts". Errington's (1985a, 1985b, 1988) work on language and shifting symbolic meaning led him to argue for the notion of pragmatic salience or rather for why certain linguistic features rise to semiotic prominence over others for speakers and hearers.

The current book brings together scholars working on semiotic complexity in Indonesia, and by doing so to answer the calls to (re)define and (re)imagine the study of language and society in innovative ways. To these ends, it will be of theoretical interest to linguistic and Indonesian scholars alike. Each of this book's authors will further develop this chapter's coverage of Indonesia, Indonesian and local linguistic contexts and text types as they relate to the respective author's theoretical and areal foci. The current chapter has served merely to lay the groundwork for Indonesia and Indonesian and how the Indonesian situation lends itself well to explorations of such complexity for this book's authors.

Notes

1 In 1928, young Indonesian nationalists met and declared one variety of Malay to be a unifying Bahasa Indonesia "language of Indonesia" as a major component of their pledge to unite the archipelago's many disparate groups within a centripetal national identity.

2 As a concept superdiversity was initially developed by Vertovec (2007) for European contexts where old ideas of diversity were seen as too simplistic to describe complex and ever-increasing social mobility as a result of "globalization" as well as the ways in which notions of social mobility, personhood, and "language" have been further complicated with the emergence of social media and communication technology (Blommaert and

Rampton 2011). However, others argue that globalization and the diversity that it engenders are a much older phenomenon (e.g., Wallerstein, 2004), as evidenced by the Indonesian case (Goebel 2015).

3 These scholars do not necessarily use the terms "languaging" and "knowledging" explicitly, but all show a concern with the use, interpretation and shifting meanings of linguistic signs, and what the Indonesian situation can reveal about these processes. For instance, *languaging* bears close resemblance to what Coupland (2007) calls *styling* and some scholars in the current work draw on Coupland.

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3

RECENTERING THE MARGINS?

The scale of "local language" in a decentralizing Indonesia

Adam Harr

Introduction

The center-periphery dyad is a powerful and pervasive metaphor for ordering social life within and between communities across Southeast Asia (Forth 1991; Fox 1997; Geertz 1980; Tambiah 1985). According to oral narratives that circulate in the central highlands of the Indonesian island Flores, for instance, the center of the world and origin point of all humanity is Mt. Lepembusu, the highest mountain in the area (Aoki 2003; Howell 1992). At the world's beginning, it is said, the sea and sky were held close together by a liana, leaving just a hand-span of dry land on Lepembusu's peak. Here Anakalo ("the orphan") lived. Only when Anakalo severed the liana did the sea drop and the sky fly high, opening the land for humanity's radial migrations out from the primordial center. These movements downward and outward from the apical center inscribed a hierarchy on the landscape, with each descendant village owing tribute to its predecessors in reciprocity for access to ancestral potency. The most important rituals require ceremonial leaders from peripheral villages to make a pilgrimage back to Lepembusu's peak. When a village on the flanks of Lepembusu was visited by a large group of European and American tourists in 2007, it was locally understood that the foreigners were answering an ancestral call back to humanity's source. A similar interpretation was sometimes applied to my own presence as a foreign researcher.

People in central Flores also speak of their homeland as a marginal part of Indonesia's "undeveloped" (*terbelakang*[1]) hinterland, far from national centers of government, education, and economic opportunity. Global centers, like Mecca and the Vatican, are more distant still. How do these seemingly contradictory visions—of inhabiting both the national and global margins and the ultimate center of the world—coexist? Under what circumstances do these visions interact? In this chapter, I show that Indonesia's decentralizing and democratizing reforms, and the

resulting discursive hurly-burly of electoral politics, have brought these visions into contact. In the first election of a "regional administrator", or *bupati*, in central Flores in 2008, mobile politicians highlighted their statuses as "native sons" (*putra daerah*) by using registers of Lio, a "local language" (*bahasa daerah*) that had not been used in state politics for at least three decades. These renditions of local language and local identity constituted "scalar visions" (Gal 2016) in which shifting relations of scale between hubs and peripheries became publicly perceivable. In an Indonesia undergoing rapid "redistributed centralization" (Goebel, Cole, and Manns this volume), these were moments in which semiotic relations between the Indonesian "national language" and a "local language" were publicly imagined and contested.

The revival of *adat* in post-authoritarian Indonesia

In the wake of regional autonomy reforms, observers have variously described in Indonesia's newly regionalized politics a "revival of tradition" (Davidson and Henley 2007; Tyson 2010; Vel 2007), a "ritual resurgence" (Barnes 2013), or a "renaissance of local identities" (Mietzner 2014). When I arrived to begin fieldwork in central Flores in 2006, a revival of tradition was evidently well underway, and was spoken of as a revival of *adat* (Tsing 2009). *Adat* in the Indonesian language is a polysemous term that might be translated as "customary law" (Sugishima 2006) or as "cosmology" or "traditional religious system" (Howell 2018). Most broadly, *adat* is used "to indicate an often undifferentiated whole constituted by the morality, customs, and legal institutions of ethnic or territorial groups" (Von Benda Beckman and Von Benda Beckman 2011:168). In all cases, *adat* is scaled as being "local," "ethnic," or "indigenous" in relation to national or global scales. *Adat* law is construed in relation to national law; *adat*-as-religion is construed in relation to world religions.

I was told that I had arrived in central Flores at a good time for studying *adat*, because many villages were "reviving" (*angkat kembali*) aspects of *adat* that had lain dormant for some time. When asked, the people I spoke with reckoned that this revival had started in the early 2000s. Because these same people also said that *adat* practices had begun to weaken in the early 1970's, I initially assumed that, with the easing of New Order suppression, *adat* was springing back up like trampled grass. As time passed, however, and as the first direct election of *bupati* of Ende district approached, I witnessed and heard numerous stories of prospective *bupati* candidates who were funding ancestral rituals and the construction or reconstruction of *adat* architecture. Prospective candidates were infusing their resources and their prestige into ritual practices and places in the process of seeking to establish their own legitimacy with these practices and places. More than an inevitable resurgence, *adat* practices that had been ignored or suppressed in New Order politics were being actively bolstered by post-New Order politics as a new class of local politicians sought the privileged status of "native sons" (*putra daerah*).

In the idiom of contemporary American electoral politics, local identity had become crucial to the construction of a candidate's MESSAGE (Silverstein 2003; Silverstein and Lempert 2012). As Michael Silverstein and Michael Lempert show,

political MESSAGE in mass-mediated politics is not *a* message—not a count noun—but a kind of semiotic space the politician inhabits. An "inhabitable message" is the "consistent, cumulative, and consequential image that a public person has among his or her addressed audience … [a] really powerful 'message' ascribes to me—as opposed to describes—my reality" (Silverstein 2003:16). Message in this sense is the "politician's publicly imaginable 'character' as it is presented to the electorate" (Silverstein and Lempert 2012:10). Message is not a set of truth claims; rather, it is an autobiographical aura that politicians indexically project and invite others to project upon them.

One way in which post–New Order politicians inhabit the Message of localness is by addressing their constituencies in "local languages" (*bahasa daerah*). "Local language" is, of course, not a stable, independently existing category, but is, rather, shaped by history, ideology, and the influence of missionaries, bureaucrats, and scholars (Gal 2012; Goebel 2015; Keane 1997; Kuipers 1998). My use of the phrase here reflects the usage that I encountered in central Flores. There, people who had been accustomed during the New Order to being addressed by politicians in the Indonesian language found themselves addressed by *bupati* candidates in local languages that index local ethnolinguistic identities. Local languages have clearly been revalued by the suite of democratizing and decentralizing reforms that go under the rubric of "regional autonomy" (*otonomi daerah*). This revaluation is both produced and demonstrated, or "creatively indexed" (Silverstein 1976), each time a candidate invokes a local language.

Language and marginalization

The current decentralizing moment is certainly not the first time Indonesia's languages have been revalued by the shifting territoriality of the state. In *Language, Identity, and Marginality in Indonesia*, Joel Kuipers (1998) offers a richly detailed historical and ethnographic account of the processes by which poetic, ritual registers of a Sumbanese language were devalued as "marginal" during the colonial period and New Order. The full breadth of Kuipers' argument is beyond the scope of this chapter; however, I wish to highlight Kuipers' careful attention to the ways in which Sumbanese language ideologies connect language and place. These linguistic ideologies and practices are part of what constitute Weyewa ancestral villages as "exemplary centers" (Geertz 1968; Tambiah 1985), or symbolic hubs. Kuipers shows the ramifications of the forced integration of these exemplary centers into a bureaucratic territorial logic defined by boundaries rather than centers. This is a territorial logic that is governed by a principle of "hierarchic inclusion" (Kuipers 1998:23). Such a territorial logic entails "a system of nested spatial groupings in which the ones below were totally included in the ones above" (Kuipers 1998:38). In such a nested system, "ritual performers [who] were once accustomed to enacting the history of their domain as the center of the world … now needed to see their discourses as a sub-species of a larger, more authoritative discourse that issued from a colonial metropolis" (Kuipers 1998:38). This hierarchical territorial logic was

maintained through Suharto's New Order during which time Indonesian served as the encompassing language of politics (Errington 1998; Keane 2003), perhaps aided by its "un-native" status (Errington 2006, 2014).

In sum, Kuipers reveals the fine-grained sociolinguistic consequences for a people oriented to ritual centers when those ritual centers are reimagined as subordinate parts of a bureaucratic backwater. I suggest that in the inaugural elections of district executives across many parts of Indonesia, the situation Kuipers describes was, in a limited sense, inverted: bureaucratic backwaters became political centers and the languages and ritual centers located therein took on new semiotic values.

Politics of the local in Kabupaten Ende

To illustrate this revaluation, I turn to the first-ever election of a *bupati* in Ende regency, which is one of eight regencies on Flores island in eastern Indonesia. After the collapse of Suharto's authoritarian "New Order" regime (1965–1998), the Indonesian state was rapidly and radically restructured. Sweeping decentralization policies transferred many governmental authorities from a centralized national bureaucracy to over 380 relatively autonomous regencies (*kabupaten*) and municipal governments (Hidayat and Antlov 2004). Additional reforms make provisions for the popular election in each district of a chief executive called the *bupati*—a position that had previously been subject to appointment by party apparatchiks (Suharyo 2009). In the 2008 election of a *bupati*, residents of Ende regency were suddenly in a position to imagine themselves as voting citizens in a territory whose borders were intimately familiar and roughly isomorphic with ethnolinguistic boundaries (Von Benda-Beckman and Von Benda-Beckman 2011). At the same time, the seven candidates for *bupati* were forced to decide how to attract this newly constituted electorate.

Ende district has a total population of around 230,000, with the population divided into two self-identifying ethnolinguistic groupings: the Endenese and the Lionese. My own ethnographic perspective is very much rooted in extended participant-observation in the lives of people who identify themselves as ***Ata Lio*** ("Lio people"). This is a designation claimed by approximately 170,000 people—just under three-quarters of the district. As Aoki (2004) reminds us, however, Lio people participate in numerous intersecting transnational linkages, so that "Lio" is only one of several situational self-identifications an individual might claim. Lio people who move to Java or Sumatra for work, school, or marriage learn to identify themselves as *orang Timur* ("eastern people"), an identity that would include people hailing from across Nusa Tenggara Timur. Working in Malaysia alongside Indonesians from across the archipelago, Lio people might identify as orang Flores ("Flores people"). Within Lio territory, people tend to designate themselves as belonging to a particular ancestral "source village" (***nua pu'u***). For present purposes, however, "Lio" serves as a useful simplification.

Alongside coastal communities of Muslim Lio people as well as a few scattered Lio Protestants, most Lio people participate to some degree both in Catholic

sacraments and in ancestral rites (Howell 2018). Ancestors are sometimes described as intercessors between the living and God. As one informant, a prominent member of the Catholic Church, expressed it: "Where is God? But I can show you the graves of my father and his father." Ancestral rites pay homage to the dead, who gave to the living an ordered, habitable world. Indeed, life as we know it was made by those who came before us, and for this the living are obliged to carry forward ancestral rituals. As Ende regency held its first ever election for *bupati*, these costly rituals were, in many instances, funded and propelled by a new kind of aspiring politician.

One future candidate began funding rituals in his maternal village as early as 2002. In 2006, when he staged the lavish, week-long secondary reburial of his father in his paternal village, the events were widely and approvingly seen as the beginning of his political campaign—a way to get his name buzzing on lips and tongues as the bannered funerary motorcade honked its way across central Flores. On the eve of the official declaration of candidacy, the candidate's eldest son and campaign manager were possessed by a pair of ancestral spirits who constructed an altar at an especially potent mountain-top point on the Lio sacred landscape. When the official six-week period of his campaign commenced in October 2008, the mild-mannered civil servant would begin his stump speeches in quietly measured Indonesian; but by speech's end he would build to a booming, fist-pumping, Lio-language declaration that his blood was "Lio blood" (***rha Lio***). After the official speeches were over, the son and campaign manager, under ancestral influence, regularly issued oracular pronouncements in an archaic poetic register of Lio that required translation by the candidate's youngest son. In this way, the candidate inhabited a Message of spatio-temporal "precedence" (Fox 1997): his campaign controlled an ancestral variety of Lio that was understood to be prior to, and therefore hierarchically superior to, contemporary varieties of Lio.

This candidate's campaign was by no means unique. At least four of the seven 2008 *bupati* candidates staged or funded large-scale *adat* events. Lio language and Lio identity, which had been erased from the public sphere in New Order Indonesia, had clearly been charged with new political potency. Against this revivalist backdrop, I turn to one prospective candidate's failed attempt to use linguistic tokens of locality to garner the support of one segment of this constituency. I focus on a politician's failure in order to illustrate the semiotic vulnerability that is incurred by a mobile politician attempting to down-scale without realizing just how far down the scales go.

The vice *bupati* learns his place

The vice *bupati* was three hours late, and several hundred residents of Koanara were left waiting by the road in the afternoon heat. After a week of round-the-clock hubbub in which crews constructed a stage and vast bamboo and tarp enclosure, amassed hundreds of chairs and arranged them into rows, sliced garlic cloves and shallots by the kilo, and slaughtered and cooked several pigs and a cow, preparations

were finally complete for the inauguration of the new *kepala desa* ("village head") by the vice *bupati*. This vice *bupati*, along with the *bupati*, had been selected by Ende's Regional People's Representative Assembly (*DPRD*) before democratizing reforms were passed. Now it was 2007 and many believed that the vice *bupati* had his sights set on campaigning for *bupati* the next year.

The inauguration ceremony had been scheduled for 11 o'clock, but at 2 o'clock the vice *bupati* still had not arrived. Now and then an SMS conveyed news of his whereabouts in a nearby village, and folks looked at their watches, shook their heads, and went back to chatting or playing cards. In a moment of piqued frustration, the man who had tirelessly spearheaded preparations for the preceding week cried out, "Oi! We're little people!" (***kami ata lo'o!***). His exasperated cry entailed a rich mixture of metaphors of the relation between space and hierarchy. In the Lio language, that which is "central" (***one***) is also "big" (***ria***). Ritual leaders are alternately called "central people" (***ata one***) and "big people" (***ata ria***). Likewise, ceremonial houses may be called "central houses" (***sa'o one***) or "big houses" (***sa'o ria***). To claim "we're the little people" is thus analogous to claiming "we're the marginal people." It also echoes the Javanese phrase *wong cilik*, meaning "small people" or "commoners." This feeling of marginalization evidently came from being forced into a passive, waiting position. In Lio, as elsewhere, to be forced to wait on someone is to be in a subordinate position, to be marginalized and belittled.

The voicing of complaints was set aside, however, when a spout of dust from the vice *bupati*'s convoy of SUV's appeared at the far end of the road. Village leaders converged on the vice *bupati*'s vehicle for handshakes before ushering him to an arch of banana fronds that had been raised to serve as his portal into the village. An elder village ceremonial leader greeted the vice *bupati* at the portal with the intention of delivering a traditional Lio greeting (***bhea***). Although this genre is ideally extemporized or delivered from memory, the ceremonial leader had written his greeting; but he had forgotten to bring his glasses and could not read what he had written, so he stepped aside to good-natured laughter and mild mockery from old comrades. After the failed oratorical greeting, young women of the village placed loops of flowers around the necks of the vice *bupati* and his wife, and the couple and their entourage were beckoned into the heart of the village by parallel lines of women performing a sinuous dance that connotes feminine fertility. I was told that this welcome—standard for official visits by district-level luminaries—was a truncated form of welcomes that had been given to the rajas, or regional dynastic rulers, of former days.

Encircled by hundreds of watchers, the entourage ambled up Koanara's stony thoroughfare to a bamboo-framed, tarp-covered enclosure that had been constructed for the day's events. There was space under the rectangular enclosure for six hundred or more seats, all facing a sizeable stage. On the stage, two blocks of elevated seats had been arranged for VIPs: ceremonial leaders (***mosa laki***) sat in one group stage left; civil servants, local medical staff, and the Catholic priest sat in another block stage right. At the head of the stage, a flower-strewn table and special high-backed chair had been arranged for the vice *bupati*. With countless pockets of

watchers gathered in windows and doorways at the edge of the enclosure, the vice *bupati* looked out wearily on a crowd of nearly a thousand.

After performing the official inauguration of the village administrator, the vice *bupati*'s main order of business before the obligatory meal was a "speech" (*sambutan)*, which began with formal greetings to all present from himself and the *bupati*. Then he launched into an account of his busy day to that point, saying that he had already been to three similar functions in other villages. In describing his trajectory, he twice misuses Lio-language directional terms and is twice corrected by the audience. Following is a rough transcript of this small section of his speech, in which the authoritative and monologic discourse of a formal speech is momentarily transformed into a dialogue between politician and public. For this reason, I have organized the transcript in turns at talk. Of particular importance are the vice *bupati*'s misuses of directional terms in the first and third turns at talk. These mistakes are corrected by members of the audience in the second and fourth turns at talk. The Lio directional terms ***mena*** and ***ghale*** are left unglossed in the transcript and described below.

Excerpt 1 Fragment from the installation of Koanara village administrator

1. Vice bupati:	*Sore ini saya sudah di tiga tempat.* "This afternoon, I've been to three places."
	***Neabuga aku mena* Demulaka** **"This morning, I was *mena* Demulaka"**
2. Audience:	***Ghale.*** **"*Ghale.*"**
3. Vice bupati:	***Ghale?*** **"*Ghale?*"**
	[points in the direction of Demulaka]
	Ghale. **"*Ghale.*"**
	Saya melantik duapuluh-delapan orang Badan Permuyawaratan Desa. "I installed twenty-eight members of the Village Assembly."
	[2 second pause]
	Jam satu ***neanea*** … "At one o'clock **this afternoon** …
	[Vice bupati bobs his head]
	Ghale *juga?* "***Ghale,*** too?"

4. Audience: ***Lau*!**
"Downriver!"

5. Vice bupati: ***Lau***. *Saya* ***lau*** [heh-heh].
"**Downriver**. I'm **downriver**, heh heh."

Lau Woloara …
"**Downriver** Wolara …"

Aku *lantik duapuluh-satu orang*
"I installed twenty-one members of the

Badan Permusyawaratan Desa … ***no'o*** *Kepala Desa Petrus Dari.*
"Village Assembly, **along with** the Village Head Petrus Dari."

This segment shows the vice *bupati* confronting heterogeneity of a "local language." The Lio language is part of a dialect chain that extends across central Flores and also includes the Ngada, Nage, Keo, and Endenese languages (Fox 1998). The Lio language itself is locally understood to encompass at least four distinct varieties, each colloquially named for its first person singular pronoun: *bahasa* ***neku***, *bahasa* ***aku***, *bahasa* ***ahu***, and *bahasa* ***ja'o***. These varieties are mutually intelligible, but phonologically distinct. Walking along certain pathways, one encounters abrupt isoglossal transitions from one hamlet to the next. One such transition is from a relatively widespread variety of Lio that includes /k/ to a relatively circumscribed variety that replaces /k/ with /h/, as in the first-person singular pronoun variants *aku* and *ahu*. People who live along the boundary delight in playful performances of the other variety. At a finer grain, each village seems to have its own lexicon of profanity, with words that are commonplace in one village regarded as being quite vulgar in another village. Perhaps the most granular level of variation in the Lio language is its system of directional terms.

These terms encode a set of geocentric coordinates that appear to be relatively stable across the area, however the pragmatic application of these coordinates is a matter of highly localized convention—in some instances particular to an individual household but more generally subject to conventions normalized at the village level. The directional system was certainly the first and most persistent puzzle that I encountered in speaking Lio, but my friends told me that they, too, felt confused and uncomfortable in new places because they didn't know how to apply directional terms, which are obligatory before a place name of reference.

TABLE 3.1 Core Lio directional terms

Gheta/Lau:	Upstream/Downstream
Ghele/Ghawa:	Uphill/Downhill
Ghale/Mena:	Right/Left (from the perspective of facing either *lau* or *ghawa*)
Gheta/Ghale:	Towards the sunrise/Towards the sunset (when speaking of relatively distant locations)

Aoki (1996, 139) reports a story that was told to her of a man who misunderstood a directional term in a neighboring area and was consequently gored to death by a deranged water buffalo. The vice *bupati*'s mistake was not so mortally serious, but it nonetheless carried repercussions.

In referring to his morning activities, the vice *bupati* consistently flubs the directional terms. When he misuses a term, members of the audience spontaneously correct him, first mildly, then more forcefully. Significantly, the corrections came from Koanara's ceremonial leaders, seated on the elevated platform stage left. Indeed, the main voice heard correcting the vice *bupati* is the same man who earlier had exclaimed "We're the little people!"

Crucially, after being corrected the first time, the vice *bupati* checks his next directional usage with the audience before committing to it. As he checks whether he is using the correct directional term, he bobs his head in a way that reflexively indexes a submissive stance. When I later showed this video footage to friends who had not been present at the event, his head bob provoked riotous laughter and the exclamation that "he's humbled!" (***kai mea*!**). In performing in a local language, the vice *bupati*'s monologic speech was ruptured, and he opened himself to an unplanned and disadvantageous dialogue with the audience. The vice *bupati* seems to ironically acknowledge this when he says in the fifth turn at talk, "**Lau**. I'm ***lau***." ***Lau*** is used colloquially, as here, to mean that an individual has been put into a disadvantaged position.

By invoking his official functions elsewhere, the vice *bupati* indexed his mobility and the fact that his executive powers transcended the concerns of any particular village. His rhetorical tracing of his steps was an act of "hierarchical encompassment" (Kuipers 1998): he rendered the events in Koanara as constituent parts in his itinerary, functionally equivalent to events in other villages. In doing so, however, he drew on linguistic resources that are intrinsically not mobile, in the sociolinguistic sense elaborated by Blommaert (2005, 2010). Building on Hymes's (1996) notion of voice, Blommaert has proposed a concept of sociolinguistic "scale" to capture the "scope of actual understandability of specific bits of discourse" (2015:113). The vice *bupati*'s utterances were generically recognizable as being of the Lio language, but at the specific scale of a particular village, his utterances failed to situate him as a competent speaker anchored in an actual deictic milieu. In using the wrong directional terms, the vice *bupati* did more than misspeak. He failed to speak from where he was, because to speak in Lio is to indicate the proper deictic relationship with places that lie elsewhere.

As a wealth of ethnographic analysis illustrates for eastern Indonesian societies, trajectories on the landscape can invoke broad senses of socio-historical relatedness between times and places (Forth 1991; Fox 1997; Kuipers 1998; Allerton 2013). In the cosmological narratives of Lio specialists, the social world is imagined as having been created in a downward and outward web of ancestral migrations from a central peak (Howell 1992). In other words, these topological genealogies, or "topogenies" (Fox 1997), describe the simultaneous and overlapping differentiations of the landscape and of society. This image of the social world is neatly captured in the Lio term for genealogy: ***nge-wa'u***, literally "multiply-descend." Because Lio hierarchy is

defined by precedence, ancestral migrations are understood to have inscribed hierarchies into the landscape. For example, regardless of their actual relative elevation, members of a ritually subordinate village must "ascend" (***nai nua***) to their superior "source village" (***nua pu'u***) in order to pay tribute and take home boons of ancestral potency. Neighboring villages sometimes engage in friendly rivalry, and in these cases the village which is designated "uphill" (***ghawa***) or "upstream" (***gheta***) delight in affirming that the other village is "downhill" (***ghele***) or "downstream" (***lau***). In one example, members of an upstream village playfully refer to the downstream village Detusoko as Lau-soko. In this case and others, directional terms operate not only as spatial deictics, but as social deictics as well, in that they index "perduring social relations rather than emergent situational ones" (Manning 2001:54).

Directional terms are inevitably chronotopic (Bakhtin 1981; Blommaert 2015) insofar as they merge socio-historical relations and spatio-temporal relations in a common trope. Thus, the vice *bupati*'s failure to properly differentiate the landscape can also be understood as a failure to socially situate himself and his audience. Directional terms as much as person reference (Rumsey 2014), are elemental to the aspects of language that ground—and are grounded in—human sociality (Manning 2001). The vice *bupati* did not fail to "speak Lio"; rather, he failed to use the resources of Lio to inhabit a spatial perspective with his particular local audience.

Using local signifiers subjected the vice *bupati* to local linguistic norms, and his directional gaffe exposed him to the possibility of being publicly corrected—that is, for the public to correct him. This was a visible display of a new indexical order in which politicians could periodically be subjected to public evaluation based on local criteria. To be clear, I do not suggest that this minor linguistic gaffe was a watershed moment in Endenese politics, much less Indonesian politics. Rather, I suggest that this moment and many more like it in Ende district and districts across Indonesia were moments when a new indexical order was made manifest in publicly accessible signs. Of course, there would have been no gaffe if the vice *bupati* had spoken only Indonesian, as I am told had been typical of political rhetoric in central Flores during the New Order. Although a native speaker of Lio, the vice *bupati* was evidently not accustomed to using Lio in his speeches. When he became a prospective candidate for *bupati* the next year, the most common criticism I heard was that "he doesn't know how to talk" (***kai gare bebo***). Ultimately, he was unable to garner sufficient party support to submit himself as an official candidate in the election.

The vice *bupati*'s gaffe and the audience's reaction were evidently indicators of political *cum* sociolinguistic changes brewing in central Flores. Subsequent elections of *bupati* have been dominated by candidates who speak masterfully in formal ritual registers of Lio. The current *bupati* of Ende, Marselinus Petu, elected in 2014, routinely begins official government functions with an impressively fluent Lio-language invocation of collective ancestors (*Doa Adat Bapak Marsel Petu* 2018). Perhaps emboldened by these changes in the public speech of elected officials, ordinary citizens are also moving the Lio language into new domains that had formerly been the sole domain of bureaucratic registers of Indonesian. In the spring of 2016, the ceremonial leader who had exclaimed "we're the little people" while waiting for the

vice *bupati*—and who later corrected the vice *bupati*'s speech—successfully lobbied to have Lio language provisions inserted into contracts transferring land rights from the village to the district for the purpose of building new schools (Harr 2017). He saw this as something of a triumph and described it to me and others using the ritual phrase ***toko tama tuka***, which translates as "the bone has entered the stomach." This refers to a form of marriage negotiation in which the groom's side can negotiate a favorable bride-price because the bride is already impregnated. He had, in a sense, impregnated the state contract with a bit of Lio language.

Conclusion

Language and its reflexive iterations form the warp and weft of social life, including politics. As Agha has argued, "[t]he organization of social life is shaped by reflexive models of social life, models that are made through human activities and inhabited through them" (2007:1–2). In this chapter I have proposed that code-switching, the product of language contact, is a way of modeling the relative scales of the socio-political formations people inhabit. Code-switching is a way in which different registers are scaled and thus hierarchically ordered. I have further proposed that regional politicians' rhetorical performances in "local languages" raise possibilities for new, unpredictable forms of dialogic interaction between politicians and their polycentric publics. This chapter, alongside others in this volume, point to a socio-linguistic terrain on which the Indonesian language and the Indonesian state no longer offer the cardinal coordinates.

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Note

1 Indonesian language words and phrases are in plain italics. Lio language words and phrases will appear in bold italics.

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4

MOVING LANGUAGES

Bivalency and scalar shifters in Central Javanese language ecologies

Lauren Zentz

Introduction: language policies and the indeterminacy of language practices

As is well understood by now, language policies are frequently based on ossified and idealized definitions of particular "languages" (N-languages) rather than on the frequently multivalent actuality of language-in-use (Moriarty 2014; O'Connor and Zentz 2016). These monolithic definitions of language that de jure policies are based on in turn inform language use in public spaces, where "language displays … communicate [ ] a message, intentional or not, conscious or not, that affects, manipulates or imposes de facto language policy and practice" (Shohamy 2006:111; cf. McCarty 2011). Thus, I treat language policies as informed by and formative of language use on the ground, in favor of actions and perceptions that reinforce modernist language ideologies—here, that there are separate languages at play, namely Javanese, Indonesian, and English, and that they are separate and distinct entities that represent separate and distinct loci of existence: the local, the national, and the global/foreign, respectively, as is stated in national language law UU24/2009 (Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional (n.d.)., see also Zentz 2015, 2017). These modernist language policies and ideologies frequently clash with and "erase" (Gal and Irvine 1995) the realities of syncretic language use on the ground. That is, language forms are in regular contact, and are regularly interwoven in order to create meaning and display identities (cf. Jorgensøn 2008).

In the sections that follow, I provide examples of three different instances where the tensions between ideologies of side-by-side, top-down driven perceptions of separate "N-languages" clash with the actualities of language-in-use, wherein register mixing is the norm. In the three examples, speakers' ideologies, based on monolithic notions of Javanese, Indonesian, and English, rub up against the syncretic/bivalent and shifting realities of either their own or others' language use in

their local setting, leading at times to confusion (e.g., "Wait, is the language on that sign Javanese or Indonesian?") and at times to conviction (e.g., "The Javanese language is not undergoing language shift.").

There are two definitions to note before we move forward: First, in this chapter I define "syncretism" as a merging of language forms from registers of language ideologically presupposed to be distinct. Second, and complementarily, bi-/multi-valency is an occurrence wherein a lexeme or morpheme can be interpreted to be of more than one semiotic register or N-language (see Hill 2000; Errington 1998; Woolard 1998).

Data and setting

The data in this chapter are a selection from an ethnographic study which I conducted during the 2009–2010 academic year, when I was a teacher-researcher in the undergraduate English Department (ED) of *Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana* ("Satya Wacana Christian University", henceforth UKSW), in the small city of Salatiga, Central Java, Indonesia. Salatiga, with an estimated population of 175,000 in 2010 (BAPPEDA 2010), is majority Javanese, but is also claimed to be one of the most diverse cities on Java. The presence of the highly esteemed UKSW attracts students from all over the archipelago who unite through a common Indonesian language. The university's Christian presence in a region that is otherwise 95 percent Muslim[1] combined with the historical settlement of a Chinese ethnic minority in the area have led to a far more diverse population in the city than in surrounding areas.

In Central Java and specifically in Salatiga, the Javanese ethnicity and language dominate in daily talk despite the city's linguistic and cultural diversity. While there is some segregation among these ethnic groups, all still share the national language, and those involved at the university and its surrounding boarding houses engage in much interethnic contact. In addition to speaking to their peers in Indonesian, these immigrants often come to understand a basic set of Javanese vocabulary in their daily communications (cf. Goebel 2009, 2010).

Eight fourth-year undergraduate English majors were my focal participants, and these eight represent a common range of religious, ethnic, and geographic characteristics of UKSW students in general. I use Table 4.1 to demonstrate this, also providing the students' stated dominant language(s). The term *ngoko* represents the informal and most commonly used register of the Javanese language. It is frequently opposed to *kromo* (sometimes also referred to as *básá*, Errington 1998), the higher, respect register of the language, which we will encounter later on. Relevant to the data to be presented in the following sections, I wrote field notes, conducted research interviews in individual and group arrangements, and collected essay assignments that these students submitted for the Sociolinguistics class that seven of the eight took with me. Finally, I took photographs of many signs throughout

TABLE 4.1 Focal group participant biographic information

Name	*Sex*	*Ethnicity*	*Religion*	*Hometown*	*Primary language*
Angelo	M	Chinese	Catholic	Semarang	Indonesian/ngoko
Satriya	M	Javanese	Muslim	Salatiga	ngoko
Ayu	F	Javanese	Christian-Mennonite	Rural outside of Salatiga	ngoko
Dian	F	Javanese	Muslim	Rural outside of Salatiga	ngoko
Nisa	F	Javanese	Catholic	Salatiga	ngoko
Novita	F	Chinese/ Javanese	Christian-National Church of Indonesia	Salatiga	Indonesian
Dewi	F	Javanese	Muslim	Semarang	Indonesian
Lidya	F	Chinese/ Dutch/ Javanese	Christian-Charismatic	Semarang	Indonesian/ngoko

Salatiga and surrounding towns and cities, for an understanding of the linguistic landscapes of the region.

Syncretic linguistic landscapes

In Salatiga, a history of national language policies attempting to enforce only Indonesian on public signs of any sort (cf. Heryanto 1995, 2007) may easily lead readers to assume that most signage actually is "purely" in Indonesian. In this sense, the national language policy has successfully exerted its top-down influence: most of the signs can in fact be considered to make use of the Indonesian language. However, I argue that Indonesian language policy is also not successful in *actually* making all of the signs Indonesian. Its success is rather in leading people to believe that they are monolithically so, particularly at first glance. As I reviewed the many pictures I took of signs in Salatiga during my time there, it became apparent to me that any simple, "language by language" analysis—which signs use what languages—would not be possible. The more I investigated the words used on many signs, the more I noticed that syncretic, or bivalent (Woolard 1998; Woolard and Genovese 2007) if not trivalent words were pervasive. These are words that can actually pass as being a part of more than one language system at a time, and some signs rely on this very fact for their communicative effect.

The Indonesian government has tried numerous times, most recently in 2009 (Heryanto 1995; Zentz 2017), to require that signs be in Indonesian only, except where a local word is absolutely necessary. They have also fought against the use of English on signs, although this resistance has abated since the fall of the New Order regime. The pictures below are from a selection of pictures I took,

FIGURE 4.1 Avon store with OXyGeNdw: OXY drinking water

concentrated around what I consider the "commercial zone" of Salatiga: the area most concentrated in stores and selling/buying activities, with the highest concentration of pedestrian activity.

The first sign appears outside the local "Avon" store, as seen at the top of the front window in Figure 4.1. To the left of the store name, there is a banner advertising "OX_yG^eNdw". Based on the pictures that accompany the brand, we can imagine that this product is a water drink with added oxygen. The super- and sub-scripted "y" and "e" letters evoke some combination of chemical and mathematical notation, perhaps signaling, for those who recognize this, scientific knowledge possessed by the producer of this drink, as well as some aesthetic playfulness. The "dw" ending on the word Oxygen, as we read further, stands literally for "drinking water"; however, it is a clever play on words because the word *dewe*, pronounced like the individual letters [dewe], is actually a Javanese word for "alone" or "independent". While it is not recognized as an Indonesian word in any dictionary I have consulted nor in my regular Indonesian conversations, *dewe* is a word that I frequently encountered while living in Salatiga, and thus the reader might be expected to know the word even if they are not a long-term resident of the town nor a native Javanese speaker. Perhaps it is the case that this play on words also might draw in a reader unfamiliar with English "oxygen" and the English pronunciation of "dw"

FIGURE 4.2 Employment advertisement

[didʌblju] by signaling, in a local language, that this product might enhance independence or the strengthening of the body.

A brief stroll away from the Avon store, a strip of furniture stores appears. English is quite common in furniture advertisements (see Figure 4.3), and this is in contrast to other signage in the area, for instance an employment announcement (Figure 4.2) below the furniture sign. This sign, presumably made for a different audience than the signs of the furniture stores, is handwritten in telegraphic Indonesian and says:

NEEDED.
WORKER: WOMAN
EXPERIENCE
Store of Rich Sources

It is suggested in the language choice here that Indonesian, semiotic register 1 (SR1) (see Manns, Cole and Goebel this volume), is the appropriate register for professional or formal communication among local residents, despite the probability that the employee who responds to this ad will communicate with her/his colleagues in Javanese. The writing of this sign in SR1 also indicates a general level

of "buy-in" among local residents that the national language is the language that is meant for writing and is meant for coming across as professional. This writing choice also reflects the fact that Javanese, semiotic register 2 (SR2) (see Manns, Cole, and Goebel this volume) is increasingly not seen in writing; it might in fact simply be people's expectation by now that any written sign should not be in the language that they speak daily, but in Indonesian, the now unmarked language of written and formal communication (cf. Geertz 1960, Errington 1998).

The banner above the handwritten sign (not shown here), and the American Pillo store sign to their right (Figure 4.3), are largely in English, excluding the store's officially documented name, street address, and telephone number in the bottom third of the sign (I spend time elsewhere—O'Connor and Zentz 2016, Zentz 2017—on the significance of the English on this sign—for now I wish to focus on the words that are said to be Indonesian).

On the American Pillo sign, *Toko Sumber Jaya* translates as something like "store of rich sources". The Indonesian word *jaya* is, in Javanese, *joyo*, though not necessarily always spelled with two "o"s.[2] According to two dictionaries I consulted and two friends from Salatiga whom I asked about some of these pictures, *toko* and *sumber* are bivalent: they are a part of both Indonesian and Javanese lexicons—though when I initially asked which language these words were a part of, it took my respondents some conversation and second-guessing to come to this conclusion. They further claimed that the choice of such bivalent language on the part of the store owner must be an attempt to portray a sense of Javanese identity in an otherwise Indonesian sign (see O'Connor and Zentz 2016).

FIGURE 4.3 Toko Sumber Jaya

The local synchronic "snapshots" that we take in linguistic landscape studies are ubiquitously rooted in diachronic, historical processes, which create local meanings. Importantly here, the Indonesian project of nationalization within an era of "globalization"[3] has played a central role in shifting the scales of linguistic forms locally: since nationalization, local languages have been revalued into the position of SR2—they are less prestigious and have less of a place in public. Additionally, this nationalized scenario has also shifted public language use such that local vendors and employers communicate to their audience in a semiotic register that is understood to be Indonesian despite the likelihood that both speak Javanese. That is to say that in the signs above, storeowners are indexing belonging to an Indonesian community over a local, provincial, or regional community—and their readers are frequently reading it that way despite the historical intermingling of the two registers that has allowed the bivalency we see in a store name like *Toko Sumber Jaya*.

We now examine how this notion—that semiotic registers are deeply influenced by the state and over time—plays out in the realm of "communicative repertoires" in contemporary young adults' language use.

Syncretic repertoires

The images in the previous section reflect the local language ecology (Hornberger and Hult 2008), which I have sketched in Table 4.2. This table is based on research participant Satriya's descriptions of his language use in multiple contexts locally. While Table 4.1 might be thought of as individuals' cultural locations with regard to general demographic characteristics, Table 4.2 can be thought of as a depiction of one possible scale of local semiotic registers.

Satriya described how he had learned to regard "his Indonesian" as locally and ethnically marked in a way that placed his accent and vocabulary low on a nationalized scale of language value. This was made apparent to him regularly, even by his girlfriend, who was from another island in Indonesia and would frequently tease Satriya for speaking Indonesian with a *medhok* (Satriya writes this word as *medog* as we will see in Text 2), or "country bumpkin", accent. In one Sociolinguistics class essay, Text 1, Satriya described an interaction he had had with debate competitors from Jakarta and other respected universities on Java. He expressed that the non-Javanese, elite university students he encountered at this regional debate competition did not want to "get close with" him and his other Javanese peers. As he wrote:

Text 1 … their accent is still close to my Javanese accent…

> Even though [the other Javanese debaters] speak Indonesian I feel easier to get close with them compared to other debaters from [Universitas Indonesia, in Jakarta], [Indonesian State College of Accountancy, in Jakarta], and UGM [Universitas Gadjah Mada, in Yogyakarta]. At that time, I felt that students from Jakarta and UGM do not want to close with my friends and me from

TABLE 4.2 Languages and their practices in Salatiga

Javanese (*ngoko*)	informal interactions among locals (born and raised in Java or residing in Java long enough to have learned it)
Javanese (*kromo*)	local/pan-Javanese ceremonies surrounding death, birth, pregnancy; younger to elder talk, ideologically cited as "the Javanese language", "no one speaks it anymore"
Javanese Indonesian	younger generations' peer communication, local, place-based performance of Indonesian educated identity
Chinese Indonesian	Chinese intra-ethnic communication where Javanese is not used
other dialects of Indonesian	interethnic communication locally where Javanese is not a choice or where context (e.g., classroom) requires Indonesian
Standardized Indonesian	translocal performance of Indonesian identity, schools, elite education, television performances, churches
English	communication with foreigners, in English Department or English classes elsewhere, performance of mobile, elite identity
Classical Arabic	Muslim prayer at home and at the mosque
multiple languages indigenous to other islands (Torajanese, Batak, etc.)	intra-community talk among migrants to Java (for education, work)

> UKSW. I think that the main reason why I can easily get close to [the other Javanese debaters] compared to other universities from Jakarta is because their accent is still close to my Javanese accent so it makes our communication easier although all of us speak using Indonesian.
>
> (Satriya, Sociolinguistics Essay, 9 November 2009)

Satriya scaled not only these other students' language but also the students themselves, the universities they attended, and the larger cities from whence they hailed, higher than his Javanese, smaller-university and smaller-town, peers. The translocal Indonesian language did serve to unify participants in an "Indonesian space" beyond their separate localities; however, within this space, a Javanese variety of Indonesian, Satriya felt, was scaled lower than the Indonesian spoken by students from larger cities and bigger, more prestigious schools. Furthermore, Satriya assumed that these students, in their elite positions, must have held a certain disdain for himself, his Javanese peers and the Javanese dialect of Indonesian that they spoke (cf. Manns 2014 regarding the deployment of local dialect features of Indonesian in radio broadcasts in order to create intimacy).

As he progressed through his English studies at UKSW, Satriya accumulated new communicative resources and combined them in novel ways across languages. With his expanding communicative repertoire—that is, the set of semiotic resources he

has available to him at any given time—he found himself resituating his language use locally by using multiple communicative resources across defined "languages" and, as explained in the following text, using any and every code and communicative resource available to him to reach his goals:

Text 2 … if I use Indonesian my initial intention somehow is not fulfilled yet.

> Nowadays, I use Indonesian more often than my Javanese because I spend almost of my daily activities with the people who talk Indonesian. For example, when I talk to my college friends, my girlfriend, and my debate students, I use Indonesian. When I teach my students at [the high school] Debate club, I speak English as a medium of instruction but when they do not understand what I mean I change it into Indonesian. I feel being benefited if I use English or Indonesian rather than Javanese to them, because they will obey and follow all my instructions. However, I sometime do not like the gap which exists between teacher and students when I use English, or Indonesian. Therefore, I talked to some of them using Javanese, especially to my students who were prepared for [regional debate] competition. I talk to them using both Javanese and Indonesian to make them more cheerful and more relax. Sometimes, I make code-switching between Indonesian to Javanese because if I use Indonesian my initial intention somehow is not fulfilled yet. Further, I do not feel comfort when I have to speak Indonesian because many of my friends and students said that my Indonesian is so 'Medog' (has a strong Javanese accent), so I sometimes switch my Indonesian to Javanese in order to make me comfortable and my interlocutor get my point instead of laughing at me. However, Indonesian has given me a lot of benefit in my social interaction. For example, I can get closer to my friends who dominantly speak Indonesian. Then, I also found that I used Indonesian in purchasing something in more modern market such as mall, shops, and stores, whereas I know that the sellers can speak Javanese, and they know that I can speak Javanese too.
>
> (Satriya, Sociolinguistics Essay, 9 November 2009)

In Satriya's writing, we see an explicit delineation of the "cultural shifters" described in this book's introduction. That is, Satriya must rely on culturally understood and nationally legislated N-languages in order to assess and describe his deployment of all of them and his navigation of his own identity, faced with whatever communicative purpose is at hand. And for a trilingual audience, he navigates all three, keeping in mind the cultural ways that he both wants to be depicted and finds himself depicted—that is, he avoids Indonesian because it is not his most fluent language and he also feels negatively judged when he speaks it; he often feels empowered by speaking English but his audience's understanding of it as well as his

own proficiency in it are often limited; and he speaks Javanese when he really needs to get his point across, particularly to others who will also understand that register best when he produces it—and this latter act also creates an intimacy that the other two languages cannot (see also Zentz 2014).

In a final example, we examine how one specific educational policy factors into these shifts in register use and language ideology, all the while purporting to do the work of maintaining the local language. In local content curricula, the reduction of Javanese language and culture to symbols of heritage contributes to the substantial devaluation of Javanese and the relegation of the language and certain associated cultures to the past.

Protection of local languages? *Muatan Lokal*

After the strongly centralized regimes of 1949 to 1998, it was not until Indonesia's Reformation period, beginning in 1998 (see Manns, Cole, and Goebel this volume), that President Habibie's administration stated that they would restore the nation's emphasis on the pluralism underlying its one unifying language:

> Persatuan dan kesatuan yang dibangun itu tidak pernah dimaksudkan untuk meniadakan kemajemukan masyarakat. Kemajemukan masyarakat sama sekali bukan merupakan kendala atau hambatan bagi persatuan dan kesatuan.
>
> (Republika Online, 1998a, cited in Foulcher 2000:400)

> The unity and one-ness we are building is never intended to deny the plurality of our society. Social plurality in no way represents a restriction of or an obstacle to unity and one-ness.
>
> (ibid.:405)

Foulcher points out that never before, throughout both the Sukarno and Suharto regimes, had such an emphasis on pluralism been described by an Indonesian president in commemoration of the *Sumpah Pemuda*, or Youth Congress: "the call for greater openness was part of a widespread rejection of the New Order's emphasis on conformity, standardization and centralization in the interests of a de-centered and localized social and political pluralism" (Foulcher 2000:400). In addition, though, this decentralization may not only have been a direct rejection of the New Order's centralized policies; it also fits well with calls for language preservation that started as early as the 1980s (Bjork 2004) and became globally popular throughout the 1990s (Cohn and Ravindranath 2013; Zentz 2017).

Muatan lokal (ML), or local content courses, were the educational component to decentralization (Bjork 2004). Under ML, provinces are given priority over what the ML portion of their curricula looks like. The national Department of Education's National Ministry of Education Regulation 22/2006 required two

hours per week of ML study, the content of which was left to the discretion of province level governors:

> Muatan lokal merupakan kegiatan kurikuler untuk mengembangkan kompetensi yang disesuaikan dengan ciri khas dan potensi daerah, termasuk keunggulan daerah, yang materinya tidak dapat dikelompokkan ke dalam mata pelajaran yang ada. Substansi muatan lokal ditentukan oleh satuan pendidikan. (Department of Education 2006)
>
> *Muatan lokal is curricular content intended for the development of competencies that are tailored to the region's characteristics and potential, including regional specialties that cannot be grouped into course subjects already available. The substance of muatan lokal will be decided by the educational department.*

Central Java's own legislation for ML, as described in a Resolution by the Governor of Central Java 423.5/5/2010 (see Appendix), presents a curriculum for the teaching of Javanese language to students throughout primary and secondary schooling. It draws out goals for students to become conversant in both "literary" and "nonliterary" forms of expression in Javanese, and it aims for them to understand the Javanese syllabary writing system. These are positive aims toward the maintenance of this regional language; however, the curriculum written in the Resolution presents a syllabus that looks much like language education programs that reify and stereotype cultures—that teach "Culture with a big C" (*gamelan* "Javanese tradition orchestra", *wayang* "Javanese traditional puppetry", etc.) more so than how to communicate in a language. Additionally, while these ML classes were legislated at two hours per week, students regularly told me they attended just one hour per week in school and that they generally did not enjoy attending these classes; something Smith-Hefner (2009) has also observed in other classrooms. (I provide only the translation into English for reasons of space for Texts 3 and 4.)

Text 3: I didn't feel interested. (original Indonesian in italics, English in roman font)

Angelo: *from the beginning already- so javanese classes when I was little, from the very first time it already didn't feel good.*
Lauren: u-huh.
Angelo: *it already didn't feel good, so I was forced, had to be able to write in javanese, forced to know kromo, forced in language this, this, this like that so I didn't like it.*
Lauren: *yeah.* okay.
…
Lauren: okay. *but there was also* exposure *to javanese*?

Angelo: *so minimal.*
Lauren: okay.
Angelo: *so minimal. because in my family nobody can speak one hundred percent javanese. including javanese script and kromo that's like this or like that, nobody can one hundred percent. and that the first time I studied it pure, it was truly really new.*
Lauren: okay.
Angelo: *introduced to new javanese script. and I didn't feel interested, I felt, "well this is useless studying all of this."* so, I learned that not because I want to but because I have to.

(Angelo, Interview 2, November 27, 2009)

Angelo was not the only one to state that Javanese class was just a drag, forced, and a place where a good student like himself went to get bad grades. One of the reasons why students feel so distanced from these courses is that the ML curriculum eliminates the lower register of Javanese, *ngoko*, which is still the dominant, or a dominant, language of communication for most residents of the region (see Table 4.2 and cf. Geertz 1960, Errington 1998, Goebel 2010), from the Javanese curriculum by not including it past Grade One. *Ngoko* is thus legislatively placed outside of the scope of "the Javanese language" despite its predominance in daily life; it is portrayed instead as a children's register—something to be grown out of. Based on the written curriculum and on the student attitudes that I encountered, it seems that Javanese classes are teaching little about a living culture, and this is reinforced through the quite limited resource allocation that these local content courses receive as well as through national discourses, policies, signage, and media, which communicate only through the national language.

Despite the overwhelmingly poor reception of ML classes among the students I spoke with, though, it still seemed enough, according to some of the people I spoke with, to keep the Javanese language alive and well:

> [Today at the] Depdiknas *((Department of Education))*, I met with Pak A, director of [X] section of the Depdiknas Semarang. I asked him about the laws that are put out by his office and he said that SBI [International Standard Schools] stuff comes from the national level, and ML comes from a Surat Keputusan Gubernur [Governor's Decree, provincial level] concerning ML. He said that the point of ML is for people to appreciate local culture…He mentioned at one point that Japan has a good culture of maintaining respect for their own culture. This is one thing that ML is there to promote—what's called Etika in Indonesian, sopan-santun in Javanese …
>
> (Fieldnotes, April 11, 2010)

The goal of ML was clear to Pak A, and his faith in it seemed certain. ML in Java will be enough to uphold the Javanese "ethic". Many students of these classes,

despite their generally stated dissatisfaction with them, had just as much faith that these classes would maintain and preserve Javanese culture and language, as did Pak A. In the following group interview excerpt, Dewi, Ayu and Dian all explain why Javanese is not under threat:

Text 4: It's not possible for local languages to be left behind. (original Indonesian in italics, English in roman font)

Dewi: *it's not possible for local languages to be left behind. because they use- now starting from elementary to high school kids get studies at school get javanese language studies. so it's not possible for it to be left behind.*

Ayu: *then for example at home I was taught javanese, in a simple way, like I, first when I was little I learned javanese kromo. from when I was little I knew kromo. but after I entered school, as long kindergarten and elementary school uh,* I forget my kromo and then I switch into ngoko *until now. so I like already forgot kromo like at kindergarten I already interacted with friends and my friends all used javanese. and I joined in using indonesian, already I never used kromo again.*

Lauren: okay. so what language will you use with your children at home?

Ayu: home?

Dian: at home?

Lauren: at home.

Dian: javanese. I think I agree with Ayu. if we teach indonesian and english in fact uh, their grandmother and father speak in javanese, the children will be able to adapt.

Lauren: okay.

Dian: *you know they can do it on their own like that.*

Lauren: okay.

(Lidya, Ayu, Dian, Dewi, Interview 4, May 20, 2010)

This conversation is framed with students' statements that Javanese will not be lost. Dewi, who claimed elsewhere that she was a descendant of Javanese royalty but that she spoke only Indonesian, starts out by explaining that it is not possible for Javanese to be lost because it is taught in ML courses. The excerpt closes with Dian's claim that her future children's Javanese proficiency will be guaranteed as they will speak Javanese with only their grandparents, and Indonesian and English with her and her future husband. However, right in between these two statements Ayu, in what seems to be her attempt to agree with Dewi and Dian—that ML classes are enough to maintain Javanese—contradictorily tells us all the story of how, from the moment she started going to school she shifted her own language use away from *kromo* (which a child of that age would not be expected to speak much of anyway) and into *ngoko* and Indonesian. Amid their very own claims in many of the conversations we had that they themselves were experiencing language loss or

shift toward Indonesian (see Zentz 2015), these three students maintained beliefs that Javanese would not be lost because it was being safeguarded in the same ML classes that, by reputation and by legislation, do not teach students to speak Javanese, and because their children would speak the language with only their grandparents. Furthermore, Ayu demonstrates well—if unintentionally—how the community fabric through which *kromo* would be learned no longer exists (cf. Errington 1998; Geertz 1960; Gellner 1983, on "exosocialization").

By relegating the only institutionally ratified speaking of Javanese to a two-hour maximum per week language class that is actually taught through the primary medium of Indonesian (National Law 24/2009 Article 29 requires this, *Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional* "Department of Education" [n.d.].), the government has created more contexts where Indonesian becomes the primary and unmarked mode of communication and Javanese a language of the past (*kromo*) and of lower educational achievement (*ngoko*). This legislation is one of many that contributes to the increasing unmarkedness of the Indonesian language of the model citizen and markedness of Javanese, which works to shift the scales over time away from the previous markedness of Indonesian (in indicating national allegiance, cf. Anderson 1983, Geertz 1960, Errington 1998) and unmarkedness of local languages.

Conclusion

In the three brief examples given here, we have seen evidence that the language ecology in Salatiga is in shift, and that the semiotic registers that are identified as Javanese, Indonesian, and English are not static and are frequently overlapping—they are constantly used in combination according to the resources available in speakers' communicative repertoires, which are decided by their subjective experiences and desired identities within this context. Furthermore, this context is strongly influenced by top-down language policy decisions that (a) reinforce semiotic registers as separate and distinct languages, and work to associate certain cultural traits with each (as in the ML content and see also Suharto's Taman Mini theme park—Pemberton 1994); and (b) create value for these separate registers and the traits associated with them, such that individuals work to identify with or dissociate from these named languages in ways that comport with their life experiences and desired trajectories.

We see evidence for the idea that language policy making within the nation-state structure has a strong effect on language ideologies and the organization of semiotic and cultural scales throughout a polity. Multivalent "languaging" (Pennycook 2007; Jørgenson 2008) has, over time, become what policy makers wish it to be; that is, everyday acts of producing and interpreting language are deeply influenced by top-down legislation. In the first example, we examined how this is the case in signage that is thought to be Indonesian but is actually frequently bivalent with Javanese. In the second example, we saw how Satriya deployed all of the registers and semiotic resources available in his communicative repertoire in strategizing how to "get close with" and convey important information to others. We also saw how his local

register of Indonesian has value locally, but loses value translocally (its valuation enters another scale and thus shifts in value as soon as he leaves Salatiga). And, finally, we saw how on national and local scales, Javanese is being pushed to the peripheries of the nation—its lower valuation and its lack of presence in state-controlled or -influenced institutions such as schools and media has led to its association with the past and with lower education levels, but also, the same institutions that are pushing it out are erasing (Gal and Irvine 1995) this fact by implementing ML classes that lead people to believe that the Javanese language will not be affected.

In this chapter, I have shown that the Indonesian government's legislation of "N-languages" contributes to ideologies about language use and frequently erases the actualities of language-in-use on the ground. Furthermore, the government's legislation of languages has, over time, created a situation wherein citizens are told to "love" their local languages but are actually taught not to use them (UU24/2009, Zentz 2015, cf. Hornberger 1988)—nor to even see them at times. These are all examples of the on-the-ground permanence of language contact, and of contact registers as the norm, and the ever shifting nature of how language forms are mixed and what their intermingling indexes amid top-down political and informational flows.

Notes

1 For this percentage I made my own calculations based on numbers available at the website of Badan Pusat Statistik (n.d.).
2 There is frequent alternation from 'a', pronounced /a/ in Indonesian, to a Javanese pronunciation of /ɔ/ or /o/, which can be written 'a' or 'o'; thus, Javanese *jaya* can be written in Javanese as "jaya" or "joyo" and still pronounced *joyo* (/d͡ʒojo/) in Javanese. Additionally, a Javanese speaker reading Indonesian might very well say /d͡ʒojo/ despite a "jaya" spelling.
3 I will not go into the problems of this term here—I use it to mean, in very abbreviated form, increased mobility across borders thanks to the availability of transportation, and increased communication across borders thanks to the internet, as well as a global dominance of English (cf. Blommaert 2010).

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Appendix

Keputusan Gubernur Jawa Tengah No. 423.5/5/2010

LAMPIRAN I
KEPUTUSAN GUBERNUR JAWA TENGAH
NOMOR : 423.5/5/2010
TANGGAL : 27 Januari 2010

STANDAR ISI MATA PELAJARAN MUATAN LOKAL (BAHASA JAWA) SD/MI DAN STANDAR KOMPETENSI LULUSAN MATA PELAJARAN MUATAN LOKAL (BAHASA JAWA) SD/MI

A. STANDAR ISI MATA PELAJARAN MUATAN LOKAL (BAHASA JAWA). SD/MI meliputi :

1. Kelas : I (Satu), Semester : 1 (Satu)

NO.	STANDAR KOMPETENSI	KOMPETENSI DASAR
1.	MENDENGARKAN Mampu mendengarkan dan memahami berbagai wacana lisan, melalui mendengarkan berbagai bunyi/suara atau bunyi bahasa, dan tembang dolanan.	1.1. Mendengarkan dan mem bedakan berbagai bunyi/suara dan atau bunyi bahasa. 1.2. Mendengarkan tembang dolanan.
2.	BERBICARA Mampu mengungkapkan gagasan dan perasaan secara lisan melalui memperkenalkan diri, menyapa, menjawab sapaan sesuai unggah-ungguh.	2.1. Memperkenalkan diri menggunakan kalimat sederhana dengan ragam bahasa tertentu. 2.2. Menyapa dengan kalimat sederhana dan santun. 2.3. Menjawab sapaan sesuai unggah-ungguh.
3.	MEMBACA Mampu mengeja huruf, membaca suku kata, kata, dan kalimat sederhana dengan nyaring.	3.1. Mengeja huruf. 3.2. Membaca suku kata dan kata. 3.3. Membaca nyaring kalimat sederhana dengan lafal yang tepat dan lancar.
4.	MENULIS Mampu menulis huruf, suku kata, kata, dan kalimat sederhana dengan huruf lepas.	4.1. Menulis huruf. 4.2. Menulis suku kata dan kata. 4.3. Menulis kalimat sederhana.

Translation of Resolution by the Governor of Central Java No. 423.5/5/2010

ATTACHMENT I
Resolution by the Governor of Central Java
Number: 423.5/5/2010
Date: 27 January 2010

CONTENT STANDARDS FOR LOCAL CONTENT COURSE TOPIC (JAVANESE LANGUAGE) ELEMENTARY/MADRASSAH AND GRADUATION STANDARDS FOR LOCAL CONTENT COURSE TOPIC (JAVANESE LANGUAGE) ELEMENTARY/MADRASSAH

A. CONTENT STANDARDS FOR LOCAL CONTENT COURSE TOPIC (JAVANESE LANGUAGE) ELEMENTARY/MADRASSAH:
consist of:

1. Class: I (One), Semester: I (One)

No.	*Competency Standard*	*Base Competency*
1.	LISTEN Able to listen and understand various oral discourses, through listening to various sounds/voices or language sounds, and dolanan (children's play) songs.	1.1. Listen to and differentiate various sounds/voices and language sounds. 1.2. Listen to dolanan (children's play) songs.
2.	SPEAK Able to produce ideas and feelings orally through introducing oneself, asking, and answering greetings in accordance with unggah-ungguh (Javanese customs).	2.1. Introduce oneself through the use of simple sentences in the proper Javanese register. 2.2. Greet with simple and polite sentences. 2.3. Answer greetings in accordance with unggah-ungguh (Javanese customs).
3.	READ Able to write letters, read syllables, words, and simple sentences aloud.	3.1. Write letters. 3.2. Read syllables and words. 3.3. Read aloud simple sentences with precise and fluent pronunciation.
4.	WRITE Able to write letters, syllables, words, simple sentences with free-standing letters.	4.1. Write letters. 4.2. Write syllables and words. 4.3. Write simple sentences.

5

FROM "TOP-DOWN" TO "BOTTOM-UP"

The New Order's vertical synchronicity and the vintage aesthetics of the margins in post-Suharto political oratory

Aurora Donzelli

Centers, peripheries and discursive representations of the polity

In the late 1990s, a global financial crisis impacted Indonesia's economy. The New Order regime led by President Suharto came to an abrupt closure after over three decades of authoritarian rule and Indonesia underwent a major transition from an authoritarian regime based on state-led development to a highly decentralized system. Drawing on audiovisual data recorded in a peripheral region of upland Sulawesi, I examine the re-articulation of the interplay between speech forms and forms of political rationality that followed this institutional shift. More specifically, I analyze political speech and show how by making unexpected shifts to the regional language (Toraja) and by deploying formulas of anticolonial rhetoric speakers may craft novel spatiotemporal forms of collective belonging and to convey enhanced oratorical agency. Besides undermining the authority of bureaucratic Indonesian, the deployment of linguistic "pastness" and the celebration of locality allow an aesthetic re-articulation of the New Order's chronotopic representation of the Indonesian nation-state as a spatial entity "vertically encompassing" local communities (Ferguson and Gupta 2002) and temporally anchored in the immobile synchronicity of an eternal present (Pemberton 1994). At a more general level, through framing political discourse as a site for examining the shifts in the politics of locality and temporality in our contemporary changing world, this case brings the focus on situated communicative interaction to bear on the study of the zones of cultural friction (Tsing 2005) underlying the global processes of late capitalism. The analysis of how discursive genres shape humans' imagination of their belonging in specific configurations of space-time may contribute to advancing the understanding of globalization, an elusive notion (Agha 2015), which I propose could be imagined not as an actual social fact, but rather as a chronotope—produced through specific

semiotic registers and discursive genres—that conjures the image of a progressively shrinking space and ever accelerating time.

Following the 1998 demise of President Suharto's New Order regime, Indonesia has become the stage for a rampant ideology of transnational neoliberal democracy. Epitomized by emphatic appeals to "transparency" and "good governance," this new ideology emerged as the discursive leitmotiv underlying the structural implementation of a radical program of decentralization endorsed by transnational neoliberal agencies such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank. Drawing on audiovisual data recorded in Toraja between 2001 and 2006, this chapter examines the aesthetics and discursive crossovers engendered by "global encounters across difference" (Tsing 2005:3) resulting from the spread of the global idioms of transnational neoliberal democracy that accompanied the end of the Suharto's New Order regime and the beginning of the "Reform Era" (I: *Era Reformasi*). The focus of my analysis concerns the shifts in the spatial and temporal (i.e., chronotopic) representations of the Indonesian nation-state in the early years of the post-Suharto Reform Era.

One of the *Reformasi* hallmarks has been the structural implementation of a radical program of decentralization, commonly referred to as "regional autonomy" (I: *otonomi daerah* or *otda*). Central to this new configuration of administrative and political powers have been moralizing appeals to transparent "good governance," the emergence of new idioms and models of political discourse, and the outsourcing of state governance functions to multi-scalar coalitions of transnational agencies and semi- or non-governmental institutions. In what follows, I draw on a corpus of data I collected in the Toraja highlands of Sulawesi where I have been doing intermittent fieldwork since the turn of the century. My aim is to show how, aside from the spreading of a global rhetoric of neoliberal good-governance, early *Reformasi* political discourse exhibited a novel aesthetics of "the vintage" and "the peripheral." Through concrete examples drawn from situated interaction, I show how this vintage aesthetics of the margins produced a discursive subversion of the hierarchized vertical space frozen in a perennial present, which characterized the consolidated templates for community imagination during the New Order.

My argument here is that the political transformations of the *Era Reformasi* had remarkable effects on the New Order's chronotopic representation of the Indonesian nation-state. Indeed, the anticipatory temporality of the new Reform Era and the new emphasis on bottom-up and decentralized forms of political rationality destabilized the New Order chronotopic representation. Contrary to what had been the case during the New Order, in the *Era Reformasi*, the nation-state was no longer represented as a vertical spatiality capable of synchronizing diachrony and erasing the differences between past, present, and future (Pemberton 1994).

At the beginning of the new millennium, Indonesian public discourse was saturated with emphatic announcements ushering in a new political paradigm, a time of democracy and transparency that marked a drastic rupture with the authoritarian times of Suharto's repressive regime. In Excerpt 1, we can get a sense of this

general climate through the enthusiastic proclamation made by a local politician, who, speaking during a state-sponsored "meeting" (I: *rapat*) that took place at the beginning of 2003, stressed the trope of epochal transformation:[1]

Excerpt 1

Mr. D.—*Rapat Pembentukan Lembang* (I: "Village Construction Meeting")—[February 2003]

963. *dan jaman sekarang adalah jaman… jaman transparansi*
'and the contemporary moment is a time… (searching for the right word) a time of transparency'

964. *jaman keterbukaan, dan komunikasi yang jelas*
'a time of openness and of clear communication'

At the same meeting, another member of the local political establishment—an executive functionary of the Regent's cabinet—celebrated the advent of a grassroots form of democracy in which the major decisions would be taken by the civil society:

Excerpt 2

Mr. A.H. IV—*Rapat Pembentukan Lembang* (I: "Village Construction Meeting")—[February 2003]

1339. *karena sekarang ini aspirasi dari bawah, Pak,*
'because now [it is] the aspirations from below, Sir,'

1340. *bukan lagi dari atas*
'[it is] not anymore from above'

1341. *dengan paradigma baru sekarang ini betul-betul*
'with this new paradigm now [it is] really'

1342. *aspirasi masyarakat itu diperhatikan*
'the aspirations of the civil society that are considered'

As clearly pointed out in Excerpt 2, the radical discontinuity with the New Order was framed as a shift from a top-down to a bottom-up form of political rationality. The demise of Suharto's authoritarian rule entailed in fact novel forms of political rationality that marked a clear disjuncture with previous chronotopic materialization of the nation-state.

Developed in his analysis of the novel and borrowed from Einstein's relativity theory, Bakhtin's (1981:84) notion of chronotope points to the "intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are intrinsically expressed in literature." Derived from the Greek words for time (chronos) and place (topos), the chronotope is an organic textual union of time and space and a key device of literary production and analysis. For example, in the adventure-time of the Greek romance, the plot unfolds "against a very broad and varied geographical background" (Bakhtin 1981:90), in an "*abstract* expanse of time" (Bakhtin 1981:99) through "turns of fate," that is, "short segments that correspond to separate adventures" that are generally

introduced "with specific link words: 'suddenly,' 'at just that moment'" (Bakhtin 1981:91–2).

This literary form departs from other chronotopic models. The idyllic chronotope, for example, evokes a "little spatial world" which "is limited and sufficient unto itself" and contains a potentially limitless "sequence of generations" (Bakhtin 1981:225). In the idyllic chronotope,

> the unity of place brings together and even fuses the cradle and the grave […] childhood and old age […], [thus uniting] the life of the various generations who had also lived in that same place, under the same conditions, and who had seen the same things.
>
> (Bakthin 1981:225).

Outside the literary realm, linguistic and socio-cultural anthropologists have shown how chronotopes are key for the production of collective forms of national subjectivities (Eisenlohr 2004; Kelly 1998; Lemon 2009). Drawing on Benedict Anderson's (1991[1983]) seminal work, they highlighted how literary genres—such as the realist novel, the news report, and the newspaper editorial—driven by the spreading of print-capitalism produced the "form of temporal regimentation" (Eisenlohr 2004:85) and the structures of co-feeling and collective consciousness necessary for the existence of national imagined communities. While the synchronizing practice of newspaper-reading enabled people who had never met to imagine themselves as members of the same community, the mass consumption of "new literary genres, such as the realist novel," promoted new modes of experience based on the chronotope of "empty, homogeneous time" (Eisenlohr 2004:84).

Although the institutional transitions that occurred in Indonesia during the last two decades did not trigger an immediate change in the modes of political discourse, I argue that the shift from the New Order to the *Era Reformasi* involved a substantial transformation in the chronotopic representations of the nation-state. In the following pages, I will present some instances of these language-mediated chronotopic changes, showing how new ways of using the local and the national languages contribute to replacing the New Order ideals of vertical space and synchronized time with a new vintage aesthetics of the margins.

Chronotopes of verticalized space and synchronized time

During the New Order, a crucial device for imagining the State had been the development of a register that, following Goebel (2014), I will call bureaucratic Indonesian. Used primarily during state sponsored-meetings (I: *rapat*), bureaucratic Indonesian is characterized by a distinctive prosody (i.e., a certain intonation pattern and a flat tone of voice), a series of morphological and syntactical aspects (i.e., a prominence of hypotactic constructions on paratactic ones, expanded use of prefixes and suffixes in verbal and nominal morphology, abundance of fully fledged relative *yang* constructions), a specific lexical register (made of acronyms and words

referring to the bureaucratic domain), as well as stylistic features (i.e., formulaic ways of asking permission to speak and specific honorific opening structures).

Quite consistently throughout the archipelago, during the three-plus decades of Suharto's authoritarian regime, Indonesians became accustomed to linking this linguistic variety with State officials and civil servants. Well versed in bureaucratic Indonesian, the *to ma'perenta* (T: "the people from the government"), as they are indiscriminately called in Toraja, were perceived as the exemplary representatives of the authority of a centralized and militaristic government and as the executors of its top-down policies. Indeed, during the New Order, bureaucratic Indonesian has become "enregistered" (Agha 2003), that is, endowed with the socially recognized semiotic capacity of evoking the "state's institutional presence" (Errington 1995:214).

In addition to being indexical of a bundle of semiotic connections of registers, social types, cultural meanings, and social spaces, bureaucratic Indonesian would partake in the linguistic production of material icons of verticality. In what follows, I show how the very syntax of bureaucratic Indonesian has been a key resource for the production of the spatiotemporal representation of power and polity during New Order. Let us see for example how, through the performance of a formulaic honorific opening, the State is spatialized through a series of decreasingly inclusive circles of authority and territorial scales, that is, what Ferguson and Gupta (2002) called "vertical encompassment."

In Excerpt 3, we can get a sense of how verticality is produced through the opening performed by an executive official of the local municipality at a village meeting. Here we may see how the register's addressing conventions are being deployed to produce an icon of the State's "hierarchically encompassing" mode of power (Kuipers 1998:23; Harr this volume). The top-down order of the honorific formulas used to address the audience iconizes the operations of a centralist state apparatus, producing "an imagined topography of stacked, vertical levels […] of power" (Ferguson and Gupta 2002:983):

Excerpt 3

Mr. A. I T. P.—*Rapat Pembentukan Lembang* (I: "Village Construction Meeting")—[February 2003]

455. *Yang kami hormati*
'[to the one] that we respect'

456. *bapak anggota dewan perwakilan rakyat daerah, Tana Toraja*
'Mr. Member of the Regency legislative council [Highest ranking official at Regency legislative level] of Tana Toraja'

457. *yang kami hormati bapak Camat Mengkendek*
'[to the one] that we respect Mr. District Head, [District chief at the sub-Regency level]'

458. *bersama aparatnya,*
'and his staff'

459. *eh saudara Asisten Hukum*
'Eh fellow Legal Assistant [Executive official at the Regency level]'

460. *saudara kepala Inforkom*
'Fellow Head of the Information and Communication Agency'

461. *selaku tim pemantau kabupaten*
'[operating] in the capacity of the Regency monitoring team'

462. *di kecamatan Mengkendek ini yang saya cintai dan saya hormati,*
here in the district of Mengkendek that I cherish and respect

463. *bapak-bapak eh*
'Gentlemen of eh…'

464. *kalangan dan tokoh adat*
'the group of traditional leaders'

465. *bapak-bapak, ibu-ibu partai politik*
'Ladies and gentlemen of the political parties'

466. *para tokoh wanita*
'To the women representatives'

467. *tokoh pemuda*
'The youth representatives'

468. *eh… tokoh profesi…*
'The representatives of the professional groups…'

469. *bahkan seluruh segenap pemuka masyarakat*
'and moreover [to] the whole community of leaders of the civil society'

Like a diagrammatic[2] icon of a nested structure of vertical hierarchical relations, this formulaic opening effectively conveys a material topography of progressively decreasing scales of authority and territoriality. The syntactic order of the words is at the same time symptomatic and generative of the state-sponsored authority underlying the hierarchical relations between the participants.

It may be argued that far from being a prerogative of bureaucratic Indonesian, the use of honorific formulas to address the audience is a common opening structure of traditional oratory throughout Indonesia. As is the case in Sumba (Joel Kuipers personal communication, June 2015), Toraja political oratory requires speakers to commence their speech with a formulaic apology (T: *mekatabe'*) aimed at addressing all the different layers of authority within the community. However, although there are important parallels between traditional and official oratorical openings, there are also remarkable differences. For example, while bureaucratic Indonesian requires speakers to produce a literal representation of their own position within the topography of decreasing levels of authority, the Toraja *mekatabe'* is distinctively metaphorical and aimed at designing an absolute representation of the local power structures. Thus, in bureaucratic Indonesian, a member of the executive staff would first address the "head of the Regency" (I: *Bupati*) or a member of the Regency Legislative Council and then the "head of the District" (I: *Camat)*, depending on who is present

at the meeting and on the speaker's own position within the local administration. Conversely, a speaker performing a traditional *mekatabe'* would draw on a stock of formulaic metaphorical couplets to poetically and allusively evoke the local topography of power. While a typical opening in bureaucratic Indonesian would consist in a list of titles (i.e. "to the honorable head of the district," "to the head of the village that we respect," etc.), the Toraja *mekatabe'* would entail long metaphorical structures of address, which need a good deal of local knowledge and interpretation to be decoded. A few examples from my corpus illustrate this point: "to those who have been burdened with a heavy basket"—an expression that refers to the local belief that being a chief means "to carry a burden"; "to those who have been chosen like a *langsa'* fruit by the creator," a honorific epithet that refers to a small egg-shaped fruit that can only be eaten when fully ripe and that alludes to the wisdom of senior chiefs; "to your highness who is in the office of weaving," another ritual appellative used to honor a doctor—the source of Toraja traditional medicine is believed to be in Tian, which is also a famous weaving center.[3]

The New Order's markedly autocratic framework provided a strong sense of vertical spatiality. The State was in fact represented as hierarchically encompassing "its localities" through its being situated practically and metaphorically *above* society (Ferguson and Gupta 2002:981). But what about time? Discussing a type of literary work that appeared towards the end of the Middle Ages, Bakhtin (1981:156) pointed out the "strong influence of the medieval, otherworldly, vertical axis." In these works, of which Dante's Divine Comedy is emblematic, Bakhtin (1981:156) saw the production of a "vertical world" whose "temporal logic" consisted of "the sheer simultaneity of all that occurs." In this "Dantesque vertical chronotope," Bakhtin (1981:157–8) saw the attempt "to deny temporal divisions" and "synchronize diachrony."

This combination of extreme spatial depth and erasure of temporal divisions resonates with Pemberton's assertion that the New Order was grounded on the attempt at erasing "the difference between past, present, and future, and thus flatten […] time—[…] *into a continuously presented present*" (Pemberton 1994:155, my emphasis). According to Pemberton (1994) this aesthetic structure of temporality was epitomized by Taman Mini, the cultural theme park constructed in the early 1970s by Suharto's wife. Among other things, Taman Mini contained a miniature representation of the archipelago, smaller replicas of Indonesia's famous religious buildings and ancient monuments, and 26 pavilions devoted to representing the traditional architectural styles of each of Indonesia's provinces. Contrary to monuments' common temporal function of pointing to the past for the sake of posterity, Taman Mini's monuments expressed the "obsession with connecting the past and the future in the form of a present" (Pemberton 1994:155–6).

This politics of temporality was operationalized though the specific type of indexical-iconic regimentation in which the relationship between replica and original was conflated, or, better said, reversed. The replicas of the "customary houses" (I: *rumah adat*) of each of Indonesia's provinces and the miniature replicas of ancient monuments were meant to exceed their sources, thus allowing the visitor to gain a better grasp of the original. Just like the honorific openings described above

realized diagrammatic icons of vertical encompassment, the miniaturized space of Taman Mini afforded a perception of the Indonesian nation-state through the illusion of "pure simultaneity" (Bakhtin 1981:157).

The chronotopic reform of the *Era Reformasi*

In the early 2000s, the modes of discourse that had shaped the political practice and imagination during the three-plus decades spent in the frozen present-ness of the Suharto's regime were suddenly shaken by the advent of the *Reformasi*—an institutional transformation that deeply affected the New Order chronotopic representation of time and space. The sense of anticipation and epochal change triggered by the collapse of Suharto's regime posed fundamental challenges to the previous way of imagining time as an immobile present, while the implementation of the regional autonomy reforms undermined the New Order centralist and verticalized framework, prompting the development of new modes of discourse, which could aesthetically account for the new emphasis on "civil society."[4]

Confronted with an emerging temporality of imminence hazily lingering between the "no longer," the "just started," and the "not yet" and with the mandate to replace longstanding "top-down" forms of governance with "bottom-up" procedures, political actors started to develop discursive images and representational practices appropriate to the decentralizing rhetoric voiced by the neoliberal advocates of structural adjustment (IMF, World Bank, and Asian Development Bank). This aesthetic re-articulation of the New Order's chronotopic representation of the nation-state entailed a revival of formulas of the nationalistic and anticolonial rhetoric of the 1940s and 1950s and new expressions of local pride through the deployment of regional languages in contexts where bureaucratic Indonesian would be expected.

The stylization of the national anticolonial past represents an important semiotic resource for producing a metanarrative of fracture vis-à-vis Suharto's regime. Analyzing the creative critical re-elaborations of the New Order's iconography in the aftermath of Suharto's downfall, Karen Strassler (2009:87–90) described the subversive proliferation of popular reproductions of rupiah bills replacing Suharto's face with that of Indonesia's first president Sukarno and his daughter Megawati, who was one of a series of presidents who succeeded Suharto. With the end of the New Order, Indonesian public spaces began to be embellished with black and white photographic portraits, presumably dating back to the 1940s, representing Sukarno and other anticolonial leaders. Ranging from photographic inserts on electoral billboards, to political parties' stickers and posters, to cardboard silhouettes on display at Sukarno-Hatta's airport, these "vintage" images have gained a new currency during the last two decades, indicating how, during the *Reformasi*, making intertextual references to the Sukarno years has gained a certain subversive flair.

To achieve a better grasp of this vintage temporality, let me examine a 2002 radio announcement for the law on the freedom of press, sponsored by the Indonesian Coalition for the Freedom of Press and the Partnership for Governance Reform of

Indonesia—a multilateral organization emblematic of the transnational assemblages of political actors that characterize the political landscape of post-Suharto Indonesia. The announcement is conveyed in the form of a *pidato* (I: "oration") and clearly resounds with the glorious tradition of anticolonial and nationalistic rhetoric embodied by Sukarno. Before delving into the lexical and grammatical aspects of Excerpt 4, it is important to underline the complex web of indexical references created through the sonic and material characteristics of the ad.

The clip starts with the loud background noise of an assembled crowd, which is quickly interrupted by the piercing squeal of megaphone feedback. In her ethnography of the interplay between FM radio and the emerging of democratic publics in contemporary Nepal, Laura Kunreuther (2014:15) invites us to "tak[e] seriously the materiality of voice—its sounds and how these sounds are linked to particular persons." As it seems to me, the sonic materiality of this ad is crisscrossed with a meaningful web of indexicalities and political allusions. The carefully chosen sound effects (i.e., the noise from the crowd and megaphone distortions) are evocative of the very practice of public assembly and its association with the large rallies of the early post-Independence days and their emancipatory political significance. These noises thus become indexical of democracy and popular participation. Furthermore, the rich sonic texture of the ad's beginning materializes another indexical reference to the vintage temporality and the elevation of linguistic past-ness via a pointing towards "radioaurality," which during the Sukarno years constituted the "dominant mode of political communication" (Strassler 2009:75).

These indexical connections with the glorious days of pre-New Order times are made even more explicit by lexical and stylistic features typical of Sukarno's speechmaking style. For example, the speech's opening line, "*Saudara-saudari sekalian*" (I: "brothers and sisters," used in place of the longer honorific openings typical of the New Order Indonesian bureaucratic and political speech), the direct oratorical style, as well as certain lexical items (marked in boldface), such as the word *rakyat* (I: "people"), are clearly reminiscent of Sukarno's anticolonial speeches:

Excerpt 4

Freedom of Press Radio by the Partnership for Governance Reform—[December 2002]

1. ***Saudara-saudari sekalian***,
   '**Ladies and Gentlemen**,'

2. *Sistim pemerintahan yang terpusat dan tidak demokratis selama puluhan tahun*
   'A government system that has been centralized and non-democratic for decades'

3. *telah membuat hubungan* ***rakyat*** *dengan pemerintah*
   'made the relationship between **the people** and the government'

4. *seperti* ***hubungan budak dengan tuhan.***
   'similar to the relationship of slaves to [their] master.'

The excerpt is emblematic of the discursive crossovers between genres and political paradigms of post-Suharto Indonesia. The appeal to the repertoire of anticolonial rhetoric is juxtaposed to the global ideology of "good governance," expressed through a profusion of references (marked in boldface) to the "aspirations" (line 6) of the "civil society" (line 20), the call for the abolition of corruption (line 16), and the promotion of greater "transparency" and accountability on the part of the government (line 40).

5. *Mereka dianggap pengamati*
   'They [the people] were considered observers'

6. *tanpa* ***aspirasi***
   'without **aspirations**'

7. *yang siap melaksanakan program apa saja yang disusun oleh pemerintah.*
   'ready to execute whatever program that had been compiled by the government.'

8. *Bukan hanya itu,*
   'But not only that,'

9. *pemerintah juga menutup rapat akses publik [….]*
   'the government also prevented the people from accessing official political meetings [….] '

13. *Akhirnya*
    'Eventually'

14. *pemerintahan berjalan tanpa control*
    'governance ran without control,'

15. *yang berarti*
    'which thus meant that'

16. *maka merajalela* ***Korupsi Kolusi dan Nepotisme*** *membengkakkan utang negara*
    '**Corruption, Collusion, Nepotism** broke out, the national debt swelled,'

17. *maka hilanglah kepercayaan kepada pemerintah.*
    '[with the result that] the government's credibility faded away.'

18. *Dan pemerintah juga tidak memperduli dengan kehilangan kepercayaan itu.*
    'And the government did not even care about the disappearance of its credibility.'

19. *Oleh karena itu hal mendasar yang harus dilakukan*
    'Therefore the main thing that should be done'

20. *adalah memperkuat kedudukan* ***masyarakat*** *dihadapan negara.*
    'is to reinforce the position of the **civil society** with respect to the state.' […]

40. *Mari kita dorong terwujudnya peraturan daerah* ***transparansi*** *dan* ***partisipasi public***
    'Let's support the creation of regional regulations, **transparency** and **public participation**'

Closely related to the vintage aesthetics underlying the retrospective, reflexive, and nostalgic appropriation of visual and linguistic emblems of a time past, Toraja political discourse of the early 2000s was marked by a new appeal of linguistic regionalism.

In the highly multilingual context of Indonesia, the juxtaposition between local and national languages has long constituted a key locus for the production of language-mediated forms of community belonging (see among the others, Cole 2010; Errington 1998; Goebel 2002, 2007, 2008, 2014; Keane 1997, 2003; Kuipers 1998; Smith-Hefner 2009). During the New Order, in addition to the verticalized spatiality and the synchronized diachrony described earlier, the manufacturing of vertical encompassment was also produced through a language ideology that established "Indonesian" (I: *Bahasa Indonesia*) as a "transcendent metalanguage" (Keane 1997:52). The ideological erasure of Indonesian's connection to localized forms of belonging and the parallel foregrounding of the connection of non-national languages to ethnicity, intimacy, and peripherality engendered an ideological and sociolinguistic regimentation in which regional languages were localized and demoted to a position of semantic and socio-economic marginality (Kuipers 1998; Goebel, Cole, Manns this volume).

Locally referred to as *basa toraya* (T: Toraja language) or *basa solata* ("the language of our friends"), or *basata* ("our language"), Toraja, like many other Indonesian regional languages (see, for example, Keane 1997, 2003 and Kuipers 1998), had developed, during the New Order, a strong indexical connection to a sense of ingroupness, functioning as a sociolinguistic embodiment of the intimacies of the immediate community. At the same time, during the New Order, in Toraja, as in most of Indonesia, especially outside Java, the use of the regional language within institutional settings had been highly stigmatized as a marker of backwardness and illiteracy (Donzelli 2002, 2004, 2007).

However, the corpus of linguistic data I collected in the early years of the *Reformasi* reveals how forms of vertical encompassment ideologically mediated through a hierarchized relation between local and national language were at this time reversed through an emergent aesthetics of the linguistic marginality. By this I mean a series of indexical and discursive practices aimed at subverting the powerful regimentation of Indonesian as a code endowed with the political-semantic-pragmatic capability of encompassing regional languages.

An example of such practices was the proud display of ethno-linguistic identity through explicit metapragmatic comments in which speakers would introduce a switch to the local language in contexts where Indonesian was the expected choice. This practice is apparent in Excerpt 5. Here we may see how a self-aware switch to the Toraja language interrupted and subverted the regime of discussion based on the use of bureaucratic Indonesian. In this excerpt drawn from an "official meeting" (I: *rapat*), the speaker begins his speech with a metapragmatic statement (line 1). The statement is followed by the performance of a typical *mekatabe'* (lines 2–5), that is, the formulaic deferential opening of Toraja oratory, where we may observe

a highly consistent deployment of formal Toraja (marked in *underlined italics*), with no Indonesian interference.

Excerpt 5

Civil Servant-*Rapat Pembentukan Tana Toraja Barat* (I: "Meeting on the Formation of Western Toraja Regency")—[November 2002]

1. *Eh lama'basa basata bangmo aku saba'torayaki'*
   'Eh I will just speak our language because we are Toraya'
2. *Eh kukua tabe'*
   'Eh I say tabe' (excuse me)'
3. *lako olo mala'bi'ta sola nasang la'biraka*
   'To us all honorable and respected (people)'
4. *lako to diona to maparenta*
   'To those from below (that is) to the government officials' (referring to the fact that the government representatives were coming from the Regency capital of Makale, geographically located in a lower valley within the highlands)
5. *tu rampo lan alla'ta sola nasang*
   'Who came in among us all'

The metapragmatic statement at line 1 framed the switch to the local language not only as a deliberate move, but also as tautological consequence of the speaker's membership in the Toraja speech community, which he further authenticated through the display of competence in the genre of traditional Toraja speechmaking. Through this discursive move, the speaker mobilized a "chronotope of community" (Eisenlohr 2004:81) different from the spatiotemporal forms of national subjectivity that had been characteristic of the New Order. Indeed, the speaker's proud statement provided a tautological assertion of ethno-linguistic membership ("I will speak Toraja, because I am Toraja"). According to this tautological ethno-linguistic logic, being Toraja, means speaking Toraja and speaking Toraja, equals being Toraja. In this way, the speaker materialized a fusion between a temporality of immanence (i.e. The here and now of the context of performance and the almost present future of the Reform Era) with a traditional structure of addressivity (i.e., the *mekatabe'* honorific address). This underscored the irreducibility of a local form of belonging grounded in a radically other elsewhere (a distinctive community) and "elsewhen" (a distinctive ancestral past projected towards the independent future of regional autonomy).

Excerpt 6 offers another example of the constellation of indexical and discursive practices aimed at subverting Indonesian's ideological regimentation as the encompassing code within which regional languages were deemed incorporated during the New Order. Here, while speaking in Indonesian during another *rapat*, the chief of the village where I lived between 2002 and 2003, framed his complaint for not

having been paid his salary as a local official for 14 months by switching, after a long seven second pause, to Toraja and quoting a Toraja saying (at line 1850). The switch did not only mark the "subversive" violation of bureaucratic Indonesian code consistency, but it also materialized an appeal to a distinctive form of political rationality embodied by Toraja societal values, which are presented again as irreducible to being culturally and linguistically translated into Indonesian. Toraja is *italicized and underlined* and Indonesian is in *italics*, CAPITALIZATION indicates higher volume.

Excerpt 6

Village Chief—*Rapat Pembentukan Lembang* (I: "Village Construction Meeting")—[February 2003]

1847. *EMPAT BELAS BULAN SAYA TIDAK PERNAH MENDAPATKAN HONOR*
'I HAVE NOT RECEIVED MY HONORARIUM FOR 14 MONTHS'

1848. *pernakah saya menagih kepada masyarakat*
'(But) have I ever reproached the villagers'

1849. *bahwa saya tidak dihonor?*
'For not having been paid?'

[7 secs.]

1850. *kada-kada Toraya kumua to meapi tu disaroi*
'(According to) the Torajan saying, (even) the one who helps us lighting the fire (in our stove) receives compensation'

[2 secs.]

1851. *na kusanga yate kupogau' te tannia mora to meapi manna*
'And I think that what I have done it is much more than lighting the fire'

1852. *yanna tomale meapi*
'If we go (to another house to ask for) fire (to light our stove/hearth)'

1853. paling tidak *ma'nasuki' sola ke ba'tu tunu dua' raka*
'at least (we would offer to) cook together or we would roast some cassava'

1854. *aparaka dikande sia sola*
'or whatever and we would eat together (with the person we borrowed the fire from)'

1855. *TAPI KAMI TE*
'BUT AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED'

1856. *MA'JAMA ALU-ALU selama SANGPULO A'PA' BULANNA*
'(I) WORKED FOR FREE for 14 MONTHS (and i did not get anything in return)'

1857. *Dan saya kira ini akan berjalan seperti itu*
'And I think it will continue like that'

This excerpt exemplifies another interesting crossover between different genres and alternate forms of community belonging. Embedded within a larger discursive unit in bureaucratic Indonesian, the Toraja proverb (at line 1850) triggered a shift in code and genre. More specifically, the proverb as a genre mobilized a representation of the local community through a "bucolic-pastoral-idyllic chronotope" (Bakhtin 1981:103), corresponding to a spatiotemporally self-enclosed community where space and time are romanticized through the affective frames of idyllic domesticity and through a "blend of nature time (cyclic) and the everyday time" (Bakhtin 1981:103).

Furthermore, certain prosodic features, such as the higher volume (at lines 1847 and 1855–6) and the long pauses (at lines 1850 and 1851), augmented the affective charge of the generic and linguistic shift, further consolidating its capacity to express the speaker's personal and politic indignation. The violation of the discursive regime that prescribed the use of bureaucratic Indonesian as the un-marked linguistic standard operated as a performative synecdoche of the heightened sense of oratorical agency and political radicalism, thus challenging the *status quo* through a "groupness affirming act" (Silverstein 2003:593). The shift marked an appeal to local popular wisdom and local norms of reciprocity (i.e., even the man who helps us light the fire expects something in return), presented as morally and logically superior to the political rationality of the bureaucratic State apparatus.

Conclusion

Central to the New Order's political imagination was the production of a spatio-temporal and scalar image of the state reproduced through discursive chronotopes of verticalized space and synchronized time. This image was also reproduced through a language ideology in which sociolinguistic diversity was regimented via the assertion of Indonesian's political-semiotic capability of encompassing the archipelago's local languages.

At the turn of the millennium Indonesia's transformation from state-led development to a "decentralized regime dominated by neoliberal policies" (Peluso et al. 2008:377) has opened the country to new configurations of global flows of money, ideas, and idioms. As a result, Indonesia experienced the increased circulation of a transnational discourse of neoliberal democracy and the implementation of an IMF-driven set of structural reforms. Drawing on the analysis of situated interaction, this chapter aimed at exploring how these global processes impacted the sociolinguistic construction of the Indonesian nation-state that was hegemonic during three decades of authoritarian regime. This analytic endeavor triggers a broader question: How can the microscopic study of face-to-face communication shed light on phenomena whose scale seems to require an analytics based on a global perspective?

Emerging in the early 1970s, as a result of the popular circulation of pictures of the planet Earth taken by space explorers, the notion of globalization has mobilized two (main) opposite and yet related modes of analytical investigation (Marcus 1995; Robinson 2007; Sklair 1999). One, grounded in the tradition of world-system

theory, has encouraged scholars to embrace a broader scale in order to advance the understanding of the contemporary global interconnectedness. The other trajectory, stemming from the ethnographic interest in fine-grained descriptions of the particular, has originated a body of work concerned with accounts of the local (and at times subversive) incarnations of the global.

Departing from these two major approaches, I suggested different tactics to understand and describe globalization. Rather than framing globalization as an analytic concept that can be used to understand specific processes happening in the world, I proposed to view globalization as something quite similar to the Bakhtinian chronotope, which is both a discursive process and a semiotic artifact. In this light, we may conceive globalization as a chronotope, whose most popular current representation is that of a progressively shrinking space and ever accelerating time.

Commenting in 1971 on the sight of our terraqueous planet he could grasp from the cosmos, Apollo XIV astronaut Edgar Mitchell is reported to have said: "It was a beautiful, harmonious, peaceful-looking planet, blue with white clouds, and one that gave you a deep sense … of home, of being, of identity" (Sklair 1999:154). Following the astronaut's words and Bakhtin's (1981) and Agha's (2015) insights, I would like to suggest that "the local" and "the global" do not have any precise referential value. In other words, they do not qualify any specific process, nor can they be understood as referring to any inherent scale. Rather, they denote spatio-temporal and language-mediated configurations (i.e., chronotopes) of collective belonging that can be actualized through specific (and often recurrent) discursive acts, of the kind I examined in the previous pages.

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Notes

1 In transcribing my data, I followed intonation units. Lines' numbers correspond to the integral transcription of the speech event. Indonesian is always in *italics*, Toraja—when used—is in *underlined italics*, **bold** is used to mark lexical choice relevant to the analysis.
2 According to Peirce (1974[1931]:2.277) diagrammatic icons are "those which represent the relations […] of the parts of one thing by analogous relations in their own parts".
3 For a more thorough discussion of the differences and commonalities between Toraja and Indonesian oratorical openings, see Donzelli (2004).
4 As Cole (2010:6–7) points out,

> [t]his shift can be quickly grasped by comparing the oft-used Suharto era phrase *Persatuan dan Kesatuan* (Unity and Integrity) […] with the many public statements on the significance of Indonesia's diversity made by […] Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, including "democracy's true and ultimate strength lies in its diversity".

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6

REVALUING AND RESCALING NATIONAL AND ETHNIC LANGUAGE BOUNDARIES IN ONLINE DISCOURSE

Howard Manns and Simon Musgrave

Introduction

This chapter highlights how language ideologies promoting Jakarta as *the* hub for models of language use in Indonesia are asserted and contested across online forums. We show how through these forums a competing model of "diversity" and the "diverse Indonesian" (cf. Cole 2010) emerges for a regional hub, Surabaya. In doing so, the current chapter joins the others in this volume in showing that Jakarta, rather than being *the* hub, is one of many hubs promoting language ideologies and use in post-Reform Indonesia. We also join other scholars (e.g., Cole 2010; Goebel 2010) in showing how "adequation", or the pursuit of sameness in interactions, contributes to a de-naturalization of New Order ideologies. These ideologies had linked Indonesian to interethnic communication, and ethnic languages to intra-ethnic interactions.

We focus on online forums because since the latter part of the New Order online contexts have opened up new spaces for political discussion in Indonesia (Hill and Sen 2002; Lim 2012). Few if any studies have examined metadiscourse and debate about language in Indonesian online forums. This is in spite of the growing work in other language contexts on online "grassroots" movements to police and comment on language use (e.g., Beal 2010; Heyd 2014; Lukač 2018; Squires 2010). Such work has shown that online discourse provides an opportunity to study "language policing, linguistic gatekeeping, and shaming… at close range" (Heyd 2014:492). It also shows how the participatory culture of the internet enables wider and more robust participation in these practices (Heyd 2014; Lukač 2018).

The current chapter looks at recent data from a time of wide-scale revaluation of ethnic and national identity in Indonesia (see Manns, Goebel and Cole, this volume; Cole 2010). Scholars studying Indonesian cultures have long noted fluctuations

between concentrated power and the diffusion of that power within these cultures and across the archipelago (Anderson 2006; Kuipers 1998). The (re)valuation of language features often if not always takes place within these fluctuations. In his account of language shift on the island of Sumba, Kuipers, characterizes these processes thus:

> these new features make sense in relation to an historical and ideological shift that I call "marginalization," in which highly valued verbal resources are reinterpreted, drawing on spatial idiom, from whole to partial, from trunk to tip, from "total" to "local": i.e. from center to margin. In a country like Indonesia, an aspiring Asian "tiger" where "modernization" of language culture and economy is central to political legitimacy, space (e.g., centers and margins) is a modality through which the contradictions and disruptions of change are normalized, naturalized, and neutralized: ideologized.
>
> (Kuipers 1998:4)

In line with this quote, the chapters in this volume show a series of contexts in which contact registers operate at different scales, and how a revaluation of ethnic and national boundaries ensues in a locally-oriented, rather than a Jakarta-oriented way. In other words, local, regional commentary often positions (or "downscales") Jakarta and national language ideologies as marginally relevant, and conversely elevates (or "upscales") the value of being able to use local language features in local ways. For instance, Harr (this volume) shows how a politician visiting a village on the island of Flores tries to use fragments of the Lio language, and is humbled because he uses it incorrectly.

Online contact talk differs in some ways from the other contact talks discussed in this book, and we argue scalar shifters provide a useful frame for understanding online discourse. We see in the current chapter that language users from Jakarta and Surabaya (respectively, Indonesia's largest and second largest cities) argue for the relevance of their city's model of speaking. In the next section, we contextualize this argument by reviewing key semiotic registers in Indonesia. We pay particular attention to a semiotic register emerging locally throughout Indonesia, one that promotes the "pursuit of sameness" in interaction (Cole 2010; Goebel 2010). We then briefly introduce online discourse in Indonesia and beyond, and review the relevance of scalar shifters to studying online discourse. This leads to the current study in which a minor celebrity in Jakarta promotes ("upscales") the relevance of Jakarta models of speaking for Surabaya via Twitter. This leads to a chain of speech events across *Kaskus* (a popular Indonesian online forum) in which people who claim to be from Surabaya first reject the Jakarta model, and then promote the Surabaya model of speaking. Our analysis of this incident draws attention to relevance of diffuse, small-scale contexts in which "Indonesian diversity" emerges, and how online discourse helps us to understand the localized nature of the "diverse Indonesian" (cf. Cole 2010).

Online discourse and scalar shifters: containment and the pursuit of sameness

Online contact talk shares some notable overlap with Suharto's New Order when it comes to language. Squires (2010) writes that talk about internet language is largely driven by an IMPERATIVE OF CONTAINMENT or the view that internet language should not be used in non-internet contexts. The imperative of containment can be linked more broadly to prescriptive language ideologies, which promote standard languages and often denigrate the speakers of non-standard languages (Squires 2010; cf. Milroy and Milroy 1997). Suharto's New Order was also driven by an imperative of containment when it came to context, albeit in the "real world". Emanating from Jakarta, New Order discourse positioned (or enregistered) the Indonesian language (semiotic register 1 (SR1)) to modern, national spheres and the path to modernity and the wider global community unequivocally went through this sphere (Goebel, 2008; see Manns, Goebel and Cole, this volume). SR1 was associated with and contained within city and urban public spaces, and government offices, schools and universities (Goebel 2010). Its use was linked to activity types like inter-ethnic talk, education, evaluation, scientific discourse and talk about the world. In contrast, ethnic languages (or more accurately Languages Other than Indonesian (LOTI)) became enregistered to "traditional", often personal ethnic spheres (semiotic register 2 (SR2)). The New Order sought to define ethnic identity as quaint and backwards (the antithesis of the forward-looking, modern state), and the places in which ethnic languages spoken, positioned as peripheral to the centralized government of Jakarta. SR2 was associated and contained within regional, rural and provincial contexts, urban private spaces, homes and neighborhood streets (Goebel 2010). It was associated with activities like intra-ethnic talk and talk about personal life worlds.

However, since the 1998 fall of the New Order the boundaries between SR1 and SR2 have weakened, and they have become much less "contained". There has been a revalorization and rediscovery of ethnic identity in the post-Reform era. Indonesians are largely free to explore and discover concepts like youth, gender and ethnicity outside the draconian bounds of New Order discourse (Clark 2004; Cole 2010). In terms of language, Goebel (2008) studied Indonesian television serials and noted that characters in these serials who did not share ethnic identities nevertheless shifted into LOTI when speaking with one another. In other words, an interaction between a Javanese character and a Jakarta character might see the two characters shifting from Indonesian (SR1) into the Javanese language or Betawi Malay (both SR2). Goebel (2008) argued this could be attributed to a desire to invoke a "persona of intimacy". Goebel (2010) found a similar process at work in "real-world" face-to-face interactions in Central Java. Migrants from other parts of Indonesia, upon arrival in Semarang, Central Java, often integrated semiotic fragments from Javanese into their repertoire when speaking to Javanese people in their neighborhoods. Goebel (2010) found these LOTI fragments could be used to index familiarity, closeness or an insider status.

This leads Goebel and other scholars (e.g., Cole 2010) to argue for the existence of a third semiotic register (SR3) in post-Reform Indonesia. Adequation, or the "pursuit of socially recognized sameness" and the setting aside of "salient differences", comes to the fore in SR3 (Cole 2010; see Bucholtz and Hall 2004:384). Cole (2010:5) writes, "SR3's most important sign seems to be an affective stance of adequation, which functions to denaturalize the language-ethnicity relationships valorized by SR2 as well as the Indonesian-for-ethnic communication function valorized by SR1". Cole (2010) reviews metasemiotic discourse around poetry (including media, instructional information and live readings of poetry), and argues that SR3 contributes to the enregisterment of "diversity" and the "diverse Indonesian" in post-Reform Indonesia. In other words, poets and the discussion of their work help to enregister "ideologies of adequation" (Cole 2010:2), which entail in the first instance an acceptance that Indonesians are ethnically and linguistically diverse, and in the second instance an expectation that one might use LOTI to align with or construct a role of "diverse Indonesian". As Goebel (2010) illustrates, this often entails integrating LOTI fragments from the ethnic or regional context in which you are operating. The work of both Cole and Goebel make it clear that SR3 is a contact register of the type which this volume seeks to investigate and examples of such practices abound in the current volume, showing that the pursuit of locally-relevant "sameness" and alignment with the "diverse Indonesian" takes place throughout Indonesia, albeit through the use of different LOTI fragments.

The mass media and internet mark two contexts within which speakers from distant geographic locations encounter one another and a diverse range of signs, linguistic or otherwise. In some instances, this contact is unproblematic. For instance, Goebel (2015) demonstrates how Indonesians in Japan maintain relationships by demonstrating their knowledge of a range of LOTIs and "diverse Indonesians" in television serials. Djenar, Ewing and Manns (2018) investigate youth interactions on the online site Kaskus, and find young Indonesians using a series of language styles specific to the Kaskus site. In other words, although Djenar et al. do not use the term SR3, it appears young Indonesian chatters adopt a series of Kaskus-specific language forms in the pursuit of adequation on the site. However, in other instances, contact with SR3s from different contexts can be problematic. For instance, the informal language styles used in Jakarta have long been popular among Indonesia's youth outside of Jakarta (e.g., Smith-Hefner 2007). Manns (2014) shows how this leads to tensions in East Java radio broadcasts, where some radio stations position their audiences as "friends" and broadcast in what might be considered a local, East Java variety of Indonesian, but other stations position their audiences as "young executives" and broadcast in Jakarta Indonesian. Some audience members are receptive to Jakarta Indonesian broadcasts in East Java whereas others reject these in favor of broadcasts in local, East Java Indonesian. We see similar processes and tensions between Jakarta and Surabaya, East Java, at work in data examined in the current paper.

We frame these processes, and the tensions related to these processes, as relating to scale and able to be understood in reference to scalar shifters. SCALAR SHIFTERS are defined (Goebel, Cole and Manns, this volume) as:

> Signs used to organize units and unitizations of scale in discourse to enable the identification of relevant participant frameworks with respect to timespace, and/or size.

Scalar shifters, Goebel, Cole and Manns write:

> refers both to the remapping of a semiotic fragment to widen or narrow its range of potential referents as well as to the outcome of discursive processes (including enregisterment and mediatization) that increases or decreases a semiotic fragment's (potential for) uptake.

In the next section, we analyze an incident in which a minor Jakarta celebrity attempts, through the use of Twitter, a process of scale shifting in which he tries to restrict the scale of the semiotic register (a version of SR2) which he sees as characteristic of speakers in Surabaya. Although he explicitly asserts that standard Bahasa Indonesia continues to be the widest ranged SR in contemporary Indonesia, the linguistic resources he uses include aspects of a local, Jakarta SR3 and he is therefore also implicitly making a claim to upscale that register. In the following two sections, we analyze a series of speech chains (see Agha 2007; Squires 2010) in the online forum Kaskus in which this celebrity's attempt to widen the range of Jakarta Indonesian is rejected and the possibility of diverse Indonesian is associated with the idea that negotiating an SR3 and a diverse Indonesian identity is based on an acceptance that the scale of the varieties in contact is similar.

Re-scaling the national: upscaling Jakarta's model for "good" Indonesian

Kei Savourie is a Jakarta-based, celebrity relationship consultant. On January 13, 2013, in a series of tweets to his 20,000 followers, Savourie characterized Surabaya as a city with an identity crisis, unable to choose between traditional Javanese culture and modernity. In these tweets, Savourie sets out his view of an open and inclusive Indonesian society, which entails the use of Indonesian rather than local languages. We see scalar shifters come to bear in two ways in what follows. First, Savourie sets out a vision of modernity which claims to be contemporary, but in fact, his views echo New Order discourse about ethnicity, language and progress. In other words, he promotes the kind of SR1–SR2 containment promoted by Suharto. Second, Savourie uses and implicitly promotes Jakarta Indonesian language fragments (Jakarta SR3) for use in the regional hub of Surabaya. This becomes manifest in Savourie's first tweet:

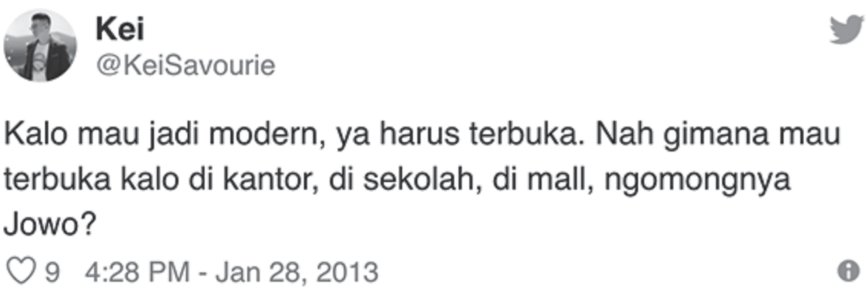
Excerpt 1

Translation: *Nevermind being global and speaking English, people can't even speak good Indonesian. How do you expect to advance?*

Here Savourie asserts that it is not possible to become a globally-oriented, English speaker if one cannot even master *baik* 'good' Indonesian. In other words, the path to the global and progress passes through Indonesian. He clarifies this point in a later retweet when someone asks him if Indonesian really is necessary for wider global engagement: *Yah nasional dulu lah, sebelum global* (Yeah, first national, then global). Savourie links the mastery of *baik* 'good' Indonesian to *maju* 'progress' and this may be understood as a modified view of New Order discourse. The New Order had an unyielding vision for the Indonesian language and its speakers. In New Order discourse, good and correct Indonesian served as the foundation for *perkembangan* 'development' and *kemajuan* 'progress'. However, notably here Savourie includes fragments of informal Indonesian (*ngomong* 'speak', *aja* 'just' *gak* 'not'), something not supported by New Order ideologies, and thusly expanding the range of what might be associated with these ideologies.

Savourie continues his promotion of New Order ideologies of containment of SR1 and SR2, by highlighting what he believes to be the appropriate contexts for their use.

Excerpt 2



Translation: *If you want to be modern, you know, you have to be open and outward looking. How can you want to be open when in the office, the school or the mall, you speak Javanese?*

In this tweet, Savourie posits that a modern society must be *terbuka* (open, outward looking). This is not possible in Savourie's view if Javanese (SR2) is spoken in the *kantor* 'office', *sekolah* 'school' or *mall* (seemingly in his view SR1 spaces). The use of ethnic languages like Javanese in national spaces excludes those who do not understand these languages:

Excerpt 3

Kei
@KeiSavourie

Gak ada yg salah dengan medok Jowo. Tapi itu nunjukkin semangat kesukuan dan eksklusifisme, gak cocok di era modern.

8 4:25 PM - Jan 28, 2013

Translation: *There's nothing wrong with Javanese. But it strongly indexes ethnicity and exclusivism, [and] this isn't appropriate in the modern era.*

In this tweet, Savourie clarifies that he is not opposed to Javanese. He literally says *medok Jowo* (strong Javanese accent), but clarifies in a later tweet he is referring to the Javanese language rather than accent. Savourie feels that the Javanese language is a strong index of ethnicity and exclusivism, and thus not compatible with modernity. Once again, in doing so, Savourie invokes New Order discourses about ethnicity, which positioned national identity first and ethnic identity second, and also posits a hierarchy of languages (Javanese < Indonesian < English) along which an Indonesian can move towards openness and modernity by using linguistic resources which operate on a wider scale. But once again, Savourie uses informal Indonesian fragments, including one *nunjukkin* 'index', with the transitive *–in* suffix, associated with Jakarta.

Savourie does not go so far as to suggest Javanese as a 'condition' to be abandoned or left behind (as New Order discourse would propose), but treats it rather as a language whose use should be contained within certain contexts. Savourie makes reference to the Central Javanese cities of Yogyakarta (Jogja) and Surakarta (Solo) to make this point:

Excerpt 4

Kei
@KeiSavourie

Kalo emang kayak Jogja dan Solo yang emang sengaja pengen lestariin budaya Jawa, ya justru malah harus medok.

♡ 7 4:25 PM - Jan 28, 2013

Translation: *If you're really like Jogja and Solo, and you're truly concerned with preserving Javanese culture, then you have to speak Javanese.*

Jogja and Solo are viewed in Indonesia as the traditional centers of Javanese language and culture. For Savourie, people in places like Jogja and Solo need to use Javanese because such people are concerned with the preservation of Javanese culture. Herein lies Savourie's issue with Surabaya, and what he labels its *krisis identitas* 'identity crisis':

Excerpt 5

Kei
@KeiSavourie

Setiap ke Surabaya, selalu geleng-geleng kepala ngeliat benturan budaya yg terjadi di sini. Surabaya krisis identitas.

♡ 11 4:03 PM - Jan 28, 2013

Translation: *Every time I go to Surabaya, I always shake my head when I see the clash of cultures that is taking place here. Surabaya is having an identity crisis.*

He professes to be confused and seemingly annoyed by the *benturan* 'clash' of cultures in Indonesia's second largest city. On the surface, Savourie seems sufficiently impressed with Surabaya's malls, fashions and lifestyles, but he finds the use of Javanese incompatible with these modern practices:

Excerpt 6

Kei
@KeiSavourie

Mall raksasa, lifestyle nongkrong, fashion modis, tapi ngomongnya medok Jowo. Otak gue gak bisa terima kontras ini.

11 4:11 PM - Jan 28, 2013

Translation: *It has large malls, modern ways of hanging out, up-to-date fashion, but the language is Javanese. My brain can't make sense of [literally 'receive] this contrast.*

He flags that his brain is unable to *terima* 'receive' this contrast. "Receive" in this case overlaps with its oft-used English meaning (e.g., Received Pronunciation), wherein it means "accepted in the most polite circles in society" (cf. Hughes, Trudgill and Watt 2005:3). In the Indonesian case, the meaning of "receive" is broader, meaning a person's view of what is accepted or appropriate in any context, not merely "polite circles". In other words, for Indonesians, the use of an ethnic language or informal Indonesian in formal national spheres won't be *received* and in this way *receive* bears some semblance to English usage. Yet, for Indonesians, the use of a formal Indonesian in personal, informal spheres also won't be *received* and this sense, the positive valuation of informal language in some contexts, diverges from the English use of *received*. Once again, we can understand this discussion relative to the notion of containment.

For Savourie, Indonesian identity and the Indonesian language (SR1) belong in modern, national spheres. More so, the path to modernity and the wider global community path is through these spheres. In contrast, Javanese identity and the Javanese language belong in "traditional", ethnic spheres (SR2). And the two spheres are incompatible, although in an asymmetrical sense. SR2 is not received in the national sphere, but SR1 must be received in local spheres. However, yet again, Savourie uses language fragments associated with Jakarta (e.g., the first-person pronoun *gue*), and consequently, a local SR3 to promote this containment.

Savourie's issue with Surabaya (and more accurately its Javanese speakers) is its attempt to bridge these two spheres. To these ends, Savourie makes what is perhaps his most damning assessment of Surabaya and its residents in the post-Reform era: *sok sokan* 'they are pretending, putting on airs'.

Excerpt 7

Translation: *Surabaya isn't as modern as Jakarta, but the people pretend to be modern. It isn't as traditional as Jogja, but they pretend to be Javanese. Epic fail.*

Savourie argues that Surabaya is not as modern as Jakarta, and consequently its speakers are merely *sok modern* 'pretending to be modern'. Surabaya is not as traditional as Jogja, and so its speakers are *sok Jowo* 'pretending to be Javanese'. *Sok sokan* 'pretending' is highly problematic for post-Reform youth, who value the *asli* 'authentic' (Boellstorff 2004; Manns 2011).

What we see with Savourie's tweets is an attempt to re-scale Jakarta models of speaking on a few levels. First, Savourie promotes Jakarta models of speaking for use in another regional hub, Surabaya. He has visited Surabaya and not been happy with the models of speaking he experienced there. Consequently, he promotes the models of speaking he is familiar with in Jakarta for use in this regional hub. Second, Savourie uses New Order discourses of containment to promote Jakarta models of speaking in Surabaya. He promotes strict containment of SR1 and SR2, but also includes a series of semiotic fragments from Jakarta, and associated with informality. In other words, Savourie expands the range of linguistic signs to which New Order discourse might be applied. A series of replies and retweets suggest that Savourie's views are shared by a number of Indonesians. However, there was also a vociferous online backlash, and this suggests that the monologic New Order vision for language and identity, was by no means universally shared and this warrants further exploration.

Re-scaling the national: Jakarta is a regional and not a national hub

Savourie's attempt to re-scale Jakarta Indonesian, and impose Jakarta models of speaking on the regional hub of Surabaya is largely rejected in a series of speech chains in online discourse. A number of internet sites debated and critiqued the tweets of Savourie and his followers. In the discussions that followed, two prevailing themes emerged. Firstly, in contrast to Kei Savourie's vision for an open and inclusive society, a competing model for a modern Indonesia clearly emerges. Rather than accepting the Jakarta model, many internet users (many claiming to be from Surabaya) argue that a society which is truly *terbuka* 'open, outward looking',

accepts, acknowledges and even celebrates diversity. In other words, we find a situation not unlike that described by Cole (2010) for Indonesian poetry in which diverse Indonesians pursue adequation through SR1 and SR2, and by doing so contribute to the enregisterment of the "diverse Indonesian". Along these lines, a second prevailing theme emerges in the critique of Savourie and his followers. Language, or more accurately, languages, are critically important in the critique of Savourie's Jakarta model. Where Savourie uses fragments of Jakarta Indonesian to promote his vision, those rejecting his view draw extensively on language styles, which highlight and promote diversity. The critique of Savourie's position rejects the upscaling of Jakarta modes of speaking, but in doing so draws attention to the fact that this way of speaking is locally specific in the same way that Surabaya speech is. An alternative model, which we will call the Surabaya model emerges in the discussion; one in which local varieties operate on equal scales, can come into contact on that basis, and in doing so allow for the enactment of a "diverse Indonesian" identity.

This becomes particularly salient in reviewing four discussion threads on the Indonesian site *Kaskus*. At the time of this study, Kaskus was Indonesia's third most popular social networking site (after Facebook and YouTube). Most relevant to the current discussion, there are a number of open forums for the discussion of contemporary issues, and Savourie's tweets became a focus in four threads. On the whole, Kaskus contributors reject Savourie's attempt to upscale Jakarta models of language use, and promote them for the regional hub of Surabaya. Firstly, several speakers make the common point that Jakarta is a place distinct from its surroundings; it is *on* Java but not necessarily *of* Java:

Excerpt 8

rasanya Jakarta itu pulau tersendiri. Bukan pulau jawa	*Jakarta feels like its own island. Like it's not on the island of Java.*
darkrevenant[1]	*darkrevenant*

In other words, Jakarta itself is a small-scale iteration of Indonesia rather than its totality. Secondly, several contributors reject characteristic features of informal Jakarta language. As has been shown in other studies (Manns 2011, 2014), the use of the Hokkien-derived pronouns *gué* (1st singular) and *elo* (2nd singular) (alternatively spelled *gua*, *elu*, *lu*, *lo* and *loe*) are an obvious target. Contributors to these online boards promote the containment of Jakartan semiotic fragments within the local context within which they are used. For instance, the Kaskus user in the following example, writing mostly in Javanese, rejects the notion that a Javanese speaker should use Indonesian when speaking to his/her friends in an informal context. More so, this Kaskus user makes reference to the *gué/lo* stereotype to highlight or even mock the irrelevance of Jakartan linguistic practices and norms in Javanese contexts:

Excerpt 9

Cocote wong goblok gak usah dirungokno. Mosok omong2an gak formal karo konco dewe kudu nggawe bahasa indonesia. Opo kudu nggawe "loe – gue".?	*This person's an idiot and shouldn't be listened to. Does he really think it's appropriate to use Indonesian in informal situations chatting with my buddies? Would it be right to use "loe-gue"?*
retardation[2]	*retardation*

This final and mocking, rhetorical question hints at the inauthenticity of *gué/lo* when used by Javanese speakers. This notion is taken up by the Kaskus user in the following example, who questions the authenticity of the hipster, and by implication, Jakarta model and positions pronouns from standard Indonesian (*aku, kamu*) and Javanese (*sampeyan, kon*) in opposition to the Jakarta *gué/lo* stereotype:

Excerpt 10

Dialek atau logat itu ga menentukan suatu regional untuk menjadi metropolitan. Lebih baik ngomong aku kamu, sampeyan, kon dll dengan medok daripada harus gue elo sepanjang hari (apalagi harus dengan intonasi yang sok hipster).	*That [Jakarta] dialect or accent isn't something that determines whether a regional place becomes a metropolitan city. It's better to use aku, kamu, sampeyan, kon, with a strong accent rather than being forced to use gue or elo all day (more so being forced to do so with a pretend hipster intonation).*
DJ_Nixxx[3]	*DJ_Nixxx*

In this thread, several contributions also point to ethnic Betawi influence on Jakarta linguistic repertoires in setting out the need to restrict the scale of Jakarta language models. The Betawi are the inhabitants of Jakarta's older neighborhoods, many of whom are the descendants of Balinese slaves who have lived in Jakarta for many generations. These contributors note that Betawi Malay, if Savourie is right, in contrast to Indonesian, should be relegated and restricted to SR2 spheres not unlike the containment of Javanese, which he is promoting. This means not imposing these Jakarta language styles on speakers in other regional areas of Indonesia.

Excerpt 11

jakarta emang bukan jawa tapi berada di pulau jawa,,, sosial masyarakat disana udah campuran,,, klo betawi nya sekarang ini udah pada minggir (minjem istilah bang ben)	*Jakarta truly isn't part of Java even if it's on Java,,, society there is already mixed,,,*
	It seems like the Betawi language has already been swept aside (there are still borrowings like bang ben),
tapi masih banyak koq di jakarta yg make vocal betawi temen gw juga ada orang jawa, gaya ngomongnya kaya betawi condet,,,	*But there are a lot of people in Jakarta who still use Betawi vowels.*
	I have a Javanese friend, and he speaks like he's in a Betawi neighborhood,,,
Noshade[4]	*Noshade*

One contribution manages to combine several of these lines of argument at once. It negatively characterizes Jakarta style on the basis of pronoun use, it links this contemporary usage to historical Betawi influence, and it argues that present Jakarta style is itself the outcome of the mixing of cultures from different regions:

Excerpt 12

lah emang patokannya bahasa modern nan gaul itu apaan sih? bahasa jakartaan pake lu gua lu gua?itu juga bahasa daerah betawi kaleeeeeee yg juga hasil serapan dan percampuran budaya dari beberapa daerah.

Morning_Sky,[5]

Really, what are the standards for what constitutes modern and sociable language? Jakartan language and using lu gua lu gua? That's totally a regional language, too, for the Betawi, and it's been influenced and mixed with a number of regional cultures.

Morning_Sky

In other words, we can see in Jakarta the enregisterment of "Indonesian diversity" and the "diverse Indonesian". And, in fact, what Savourie is promoting with his Jakarta model is one particular "diverse Indonesian" and model of speaking over another "diverse Indonesian" model of speaking and he is using scalar shifters to accomplish this. For his critics, Jakarta is one of many hubs in which the "diverse Indonesian" may be found, and it does not make sense to promote one type of "diverse Indonesian" over the others. The argument against Savourie grows stronger with an assertion of Javanese models of speaking in the next section.

Re-scaling the "diverse Indonesian": the pursuit of sameness in regional and online hubs

Kaskus contributors construct an alternative, Surabaya-centric model for "Indonesian diversity" and the "diverse Indonesian". Ultimately, there is no reason to accept Savourie's imposition of a Jakarta model because Surabaya as a regional hub has a model of its own. Further, Surabayan contributors to Kaskus (or at least those claiming to be from Surabaya) recognize the existence of multiple regional models of "Indonesian diversity". Where Savourie argues for the higher-scale relevance of Jakarta models of speaking, Surabayans argue not only for the relevance of their own small-scale models for speaking, but also the existence of other small-scale models for speaking in places like Yogyakarta and Solo, and, as we discussed in the previous section, also in Jakarta. Moreover, Surabayans highlight the need to accommodate to models of speaking in other areas, or rather, to use the terminology used by other scholars (e.g., Cole 2010; Goebel 2010), recognize the importance of pursuing sameness or adequation. We also see some evidence in what follows for the pursuit of sameness within online discourse through the use of abbreviations and other semiotic fragments associated with "Netspeak" (see Squires 2010).

Surabayans promote Indonesian diversity throughout their posts, drawing particular attention to multilingualism and the Javanese accent. There are a number of posts in the various threads we have examined which advance the relevance of

multilingualism to "Indonesian diversity" and the "diverse Indonesian". In these posts, the origin of the poster is not revealed, so it is not clear if they are speaking as bi- (or multi-)lingual Javanese but minimally the posters speak out in favor of the prevalence of multilingualism in the Javanese community:

Excerpt 13

dia ngiri gan dr balita orang jawa tu dah bisa 2 bahasa bilingual, basa indo ama jawa

Juancock[6]

He's missed the point that from childhood the Javanese can already speak two languages and are bilingual. They speak Indonesian and Javanese.

Juancock

In other cases, a mixture of Javanese (in this example, *pie*) and Indonesian is used in making this point:

Excerpt 14

krisis identitas? mungkin iya, tapi kalau harus meninggalkan bahasa daerah buat ke arah modern, jangan deh. ntar orang daerah belajar bahasa jawanya ke orang bule, pie to

deltarex[7]

Identity crisis? Maybe, you know, but, if moving towards modernity means leaving behind your regional language, I say don't do it. Later, folks in the regions will be studying Javanese alongside foreigners, and how will that feel?

deltarex

These sentiments are also linked to the comments which contest the notion of what *terbuka* (open, outward looking) should mean in this discussion. Savourie equates modernity with openness, and openness and global selves to Indonesian. Arguing against this, Kaskus contributors put forward a view that openness is not unidirectional and Indonesian, but rather emerges from the promotion of "Indonesian diversity" and the "diverse Indonesian", and a concomitant flexibility of diversity:

Excerpt 15

Halah orang gak jelas. Surabaya sekarang itu kan hasil alkuturasi dari bermacam2 budaya. Dan budaya yg terbuka itu adalah budaya yg bisa menyerap budaya asing tanpa harus saling berbenturan. Lihat aja banyak budaya loakal juga hasil alkuturasi budaya asing.

polkmn[8]

God, this person doesn't make sense. Surabaya, you know, has become acculturated with a mix of cultures. And a culture that is open is a culture that absorbs foreign cultures without any conflict. Look at lots of local cultures that have become acculturated with outside cultures.

polkmn

This position implies, we suggest, a view of languages as separated perhaps in their functions, but not evaluated hierarchically (i.e., Indonesian assuming a larger-scale, macro-role above small-scale senses of fluid diversity). Furthermore, we note the appearance of "Netspeak" features within Excerpt 15, including the use of the

numeral *2* for repetition in *bermacam2* (mixture) and the abbreviation *yg* for *yang* (which). In other words, the pursuit of sameness in online discourse includes the use of language fragments linked to internet communication.

Surabayans argue that the Javanese accent also indexes a special characteristic of their distinctive ambiance. This aligns with Cole (2010) who notes the inclusion of Javanese accent features in Indonesian poetry, and how these features lead to a de-naturalization of the SR1-SR2 distinctions promoted by the New Order. In online discourse, this point is made in both Javanese (16) and in Indonesian (17):

Excerpt 16

Cuk nguyuhe ndodok ae ape mrotes wong suroboyo medok. Justru boso Suroboyoan iku wes dadi ciri khas.	*Fuck, I piss on this dude squatting, and protest the idea that Surabayans are accented. It's just that Surabaya Javanese is our special, defining feature.*
retardation[9]	*retardation*

Excerpt 17

riset gak penting dan dangkal, surabaya mau dipaksa gmn ya tetep medok, justru itu ciri khas nya.	*His research is unimportant and shallow. Surabaya should be forced to act if we're derided for our accent? It's just our special, defining feature.*
bangtoyib[10]	*bangtoyib*

These posts directly contest the negative evaluation of *medok* 'heavily accented' as a categorization, and in fact they represent a phonological characteristic of *medok*, the substitution of *o* for *a* as, for example, in *Suroboyo*. Furthermore, these posts illustrate how arguments against the Jakarta model in Surabaya are set out using semiotic fragments linked to Javanese (16), Indonesian (17) and "Netspeak" (e.g., *gmn* for *gimana* 'how is it?') in (17)). Both the discussions and the choice of semiotic fragments serve to further de-naturalize the links between language and ethnic identities and/or national identities.

In closing, it is worth noting that unlike Savourie, Surabayans do not promote their own small-scale model of "Indonesian diversity" as being a model for other locations, but rather acknowledge that "Indonesian diversity" emerges in different ways across Indonesia. Moreover, Surabayans acknowledge that they themselves adapt and accommodate to these other small-scale models of "Indonesian diversity" when they travel. This point is illustrated below in Excerpts 18 and 19. Surabayans, and people in East Java more generally, have a reputation for being *lebih keras* 'rougher' than the Javanese of Central Java, and this entails adjusting the way one speaks in Central Java:

Excerpt 18

aku kuliah nag jogja yo ngurangi misuhku	*I studied in Jogja, yeah, and I tried to swear less.*
majapalAvante[11]	*majapalAvante*

Excerpt 19

aku yo wong suroboyo sing kuliah jogja, "cok-cokanku" yo rodok ilang.	*I'm a Surabayan who studied in Jogja, and I was forced to stop saying "fuck".*
Hehehe	*Hehehe.*
remajajelata[12]	*remajajelata*

In sum, the pursuit of adequation, or sameness, is a localized process in Indonesia, and it is not driven by any one hub, but rather by the immediate demands of one's presence in the immediate hub. Surabayans reject Savourie's attempt to impose (upscale) Jakartan models of speaking and to marginalize (or scale down) their own models of speaking. They present sophisticated metalinguistic judgments to establish that the two models are similar in scale and they also recognize that there exist in Indonesia many other small-scale models of speaking. The pursuit of sameness leads them to indicate that they would accommodate to other small-scale models where relevant. This point is implicitly supported in the online discourse investigated here through the selection of semiotic fragments associated with "Netspeak". In other words, contributors to Kaskus, in the pursuit of sameness, often select semiotic features relevant to the immediate online context as they would any relevant "real-world" context in Indonesia.

Conclusion

The online discourse which we have analyzed in this chapter richly exemplifies the revaluation of languages and the creation of new relationships between hubs and margins in Indonesia today. The Javanese language, and Surabayan models of speaking, are highly valued resources in Surabaya. However, for a Jakartan like Savourie, this model is brought into conflict with an idea of modernity. Savourie responds by seeking to upscale his own Jakartan models for language use, and marginalize (or downscale) Surabayan models for language use. Savourie promotes an imperative of containment informed by New Order ideologies, in which SR1 and SR2 are relegated to separate contextual spheres. In other words, for Savourie, just as for Suharto, the ethnic and the modern cannot co-exist in the national sphere. However, in setting out this model, Savourie himself uses semiotic fragments associated with a local, Jakarta rather than national identity.

This point is not lost on Surabayans who resist Savourie's attempt to upscale Jakartan models of speaking. In the first instance, online supporters of Surabayan models of speaking note that Jakarta is a part of Java, but it is not all of Java. They highlight specific semiotic fragments (e.g., Jakarta pronouns) that are distinctively local to Jakarta, and not appropriate for use outside of Jakarta. Online supporters of Surabaya, and Surabayan ways of speaking, use this to support the existence of their own models of speaking, which are forged in multilingualism and the Javanese accent. More so, unlike Savourie, they acknowledge that the pursuit of sameness is a localized process. In other words, Surabayans acknowledge that when they

themselves travel to other parts of Indonesia, they must adapt to the small-scale hub in which they find themselves. Ultimately, as Cole (2010) and Goebel (2010) have set out, there is a widespread revaluation of semiotic resources in Indonesia, and signs associated with SR3 come to the fore in this revaluation. The exact regional signs associated with SR3 will vary relative to the localized context in which one finds oneself, but the emergence of SR3 as a contact register will depend on the interacting speakers treating each other's language resources as being of equivalent scale. The alternative is something like Savourie's reworking of the New Order language model with a Jakartan SR2 (or some other variety) accorded wider scale.

To return to point made at the start of this paper, Indonesian history has long been a series of fluctuations between the centralization of power and its diffusion. The current point in history certainly seems like the latter. Rather than one centralized hub (as in Suharto's New Order), we can now speak of many marginal hubs. This has clear implications for language as set out in the current paper. Manns (2014) argues that where in the New Order it was *Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar* (the Indonesian that is good and correct) that mattered, in the post-Reform era, *benar* (correct) Indonesian matters less than using the language that is *baik* (good relative to context). Treating one peripheral code as central in a particular context immediately opens the possibility for another code to be treated as peripheral in relation to that center, and that is what we have described throughout this paper. Semiotic fragments associated with Javanese speakers may be peripheral to some Jakartans. However, in Surabaya, semiotic fragments associated with Jakarta may be peripheral to some Surabayans. Online discourse opens a space for the re-imagining of New Order ideologies of language in the post-Reform era. For better or worse, it puts speakers from different small-scale locations in contact, and enables them to explore and resolve tensions around what it means to be a "diverse Indonesian".

Notes

1 www.kaskus.co.id/thread/5106a35e0a75b4ac7c000000/founder-of-hitmansystemcom-bilang-surabaya-krisis-identitas-medok-dan-nanggung/1#12 (accessed May 3, 2105).
2 www.kaskus.co.id/thread/5106a35e0a75b4ac7c000000/founder-of-hitmansystemcom-bilang-surabaya-krisis-identitas-medok-dan-nanggung/2#28 (accessed May 3, 2105).
3 www.kaskus.co.id/thread/5106a35e0a75b4ac7c000000/founder-of-hitmansystemcom-bilang-surabaya-krisis-identitas-medok-dan-nanggung/3#54 (accessed May 3, 2105)
4 www.kaskus.co.id/thread/5106a35e0a75b4ac7c000000/founder-of-hitmansystemcom-bilang-surabaya-krisis-identitas-medok-dan-nanggung/2#27 (accessed May 3, 2015).
5 www.kaskus.co.id/thread/5106a35e0a75b4ac7c000000/founder-of-hitmansystemcom-bilang-surabaya-krisis-identitas-medok-dan-nanggung/3#43 (accessed May 03, 2015).
6 www.kaskus.co.id/thread/5106a35e0a75b4ac7c000000/founder-of-hitmansystemcom-bilang-surabaya-krisis-identitas-medok-dan-nanggung/1#13 (accessed May 3, 2015).
7 www.kaskus.co.id/thread/5106a35e0a75b4ac7c000000/founder-of-hitmansystemcom-bilang-surabaya-krisis-identitas-medok-dan-nanggung/1#6 (accessed April 27, 2015).
8 www.kaskus.co.id/thread/5106a35e0a75b4ac7c000000/founder-of-hitmansystemcom-bilang-surabaya-krisis-identitas-medok-dan-nanggung/1#4 (accessed May 3, 2015).

9 www.kaskus.co.id/thread/5106a35e0a75b4ac7c000000/founder-of-hitmansystemcom-bilang-surabaya-krisis-identitas-medok-dan-nanggung/2#28 (accessed May 4, 2015).
10 www.kaskus.co.id/thread/5106a35e0a75b4ac7c000000/founder-of-hitmansystemcom-bilang-surabaya-krisis-identitas-medok-dan-nanggung/1#15 (accessed May 4, 2015).
11 www.kaskus.co.id/thread/5106a35e0a75b4ac7c000000/founder-of-hitmansystemcom-bilang-surabaya-krisis-identitas-medok-dan-nanggung/1#16 (accessed May 4, 2015).
12 www.kaskus.co.id/thread/5106a35e0a75b4ac7c000000/founder-of-hitmansystemcom-bilang-surabaya-krisis-identitas-medok-dan-nanggung/2#32 (accessed May 4, 2015).

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7

ADOLESCENT INTERACTION, LOCAL LANGUAGES AND PERIPHERALITY IN TEEN FICTION

Dwi Noverini Djenar

Introduction

Globalisasi has become a familiar term in Indonesian popular discourse, pessimistically referring to the inevitable coming of a totalizing force that threatens to abruptly change everything, requiring everyone to alter the way they conduct themselves socially, politically, economically, culturally, and linguistically.[1] Like elsewhere, the "discourse-on-globalization" (Blommaert 2010:1) has permeated different areas of Indonesian public life, including government. In the late 1990s amidst mounting dissatisfaction with the government and the economic uncertainty linked to the Asian financial crisis, many regions took it upon themselves to demand greater political voice and a fairer distribution of resources. Decades of a centralized government that saw profits from resource-rich regions pooled in Jakarta was no longer deemed adequate in meeting the politico-economic needs of the regions.

A major change of government in 1998 was followed a year later by the enactment of new laws that would see regions granted greater autonomy. A major rationale for the decentralization laws was to meet "the need to adapt to new internal and external developments" (*perkembangan keadaan, baik di dalam maupun di luar negeri*) and the "challenges of global competition" (*tantangan kompetisi global*).[2] The laws marked a monumental shift toward democratization and have been a catalyst for the development of more stable relations between the central government and the regions (Meitzner 2014). The laws provided scope for greater political participation and encouraged regions to cultivate a unique identity in order to compete politically at the national level. Meitzner (2014:51) refers to this situation as "renaissance of local identities", a rediscovery of the cultural and linguistic as well as local styles of governance long and systematically marginalized by the Suharto government.

Renewed identities are projected through the display of "cultural shifters" (Goebel et al., this volume) that include ethnic languages and traditional attire, which are valorized through modeling by political figures and mediatization (Agha 2007, 2011). This new democratic climate, increased prosperity achieved from strong economic growth in the previous decades, and higher level of education, has led to higher mobility, particularly among the younger generation (Smith-Hefner 2007). It was within this context, where tensions between national and local interests manifest in various forms of public action, and where globalization was collectively felt as a looming threat, that concerns over the survival of "local" languages and cultures emerged.[3] This chapter examines how these concerns are recontextualized in Teenlit, a genre of popular fiction for adolescents, which emerged during this period and became known as a genre dominated by stories about urban middle-class adolescents.

I examine three Teenlit novels that explore the theme of language and culture preservation to show how the concerns for the survival of local languages and cultures are communicated through layered representations that underscore the experience of localization as a prerequisite for character transformation. In these novels, language and culture champions are voices from the margins; they are minor characters with limited access to socio-economic resources and mobility. But despite this limitation, they are indispensable in enabling the major characters to grow as a person by experiencing locality. These characters can be considered as indices of the authors' alignment with the discourse of *wong cilik* (Javanese for "little people"), a discourse that revolves around the plight of marginalized groups. *Wong cilik* are citizens with little social capital who are subjected to domination. The term *wong cilik* gained particular currency during the Suharto era when land requisition undertaken for purposes of development often forced poor people in informal settlements to leave their homes without adequate compensation. Although *wong cilik* may actively promote their causes, they are inevitably caught in peripherality. The minor characters in the three novels attempt to project themselves as global citizens, but they do this by forging a uniquely local identity, and in so doing, their social participation remains localized. As will be shown, the major characters are the ones who have the social capital to go beyond the local. Through them, the meaning of global participation is extended and redefined, from a peripheral aspiration to a more cosmopolitan, confident perspective. In this sense, the minor and major characters are necessarily linked as agents of social processes, and through participation in such processes, local identity is reinterpreted and upscaled. In the next section, I elaborate on this argument and propose an approach for analyzing the construction of the language/culture theme that highlights the characters' participation as subjects in interaction.

Characters as subjects in an interactive narrative field

McCallum (1999:3) remarks that representations of subjectivity "pervade and underpin" adolescent fiction. Subjectivity, in her view, is intrinsic to stories about personal growth and self-and-other relationships (also see McCallum 2012;

Stephens 2012). Drawing on Bakhtin's (1984) work, McCallum defines subjectivity as "that sense of a personal identity an individual has of his/her self as distinct from other selves, as occupying a position within society and in relation to other selves, and as being capable of deliberate thought and action" (1999:3), and "this identity is formed in dialogue with the social discourses, practices, and ideologies constituting the culture which an individual inhabits" (1999:4). While this definition suggests subjectivity emerges through engagement with others and in relation to various kinds of discourses and ideologies, it remains that subjectivity is primarily conceived of in terms of individual identity, and which privileges the identity of the protagonist. Although Indonesian Teenlit stories also highlight the personal trajectory of the (usually) female protagonist, this trajectory is necessarily located within a social world in which subjects are collectively linked through discursive practices, a sense of social interdependence, and spatial embeddedness (cf. Blommaert 2010).

To understand how the discourse on the maintenance of local languages and cultures is organized within this social world, it is necessary to move away from viewing characters as distinct individuals with different trajectories, who happen to cross paths at some point in their lives, toward an analysis that stresses continuity between subjects. Language and culture maintenance is a major endeavor that requires collaborative efforts, and in Teenlit, this is represented through interactive talk and distributed action (Enfield 2017). In this approach, elements from local languages employed by the characters in their speech and items of the traditional clothing they wear constitute part of the practices of sociality and collective participation in the discursive construction of the local rather than indices of different subjectivities. Adopting this perspective does not require us to abandon altogether the understanding of subjectivity as a realization of personal identity and the dialogic relations it entails. Rather, it requires a shift of perspective to allow greater space for thinking about identities in terms of continuity as well as differences between subject positions.

It also necessitates a method of analysis that pays attention to all forms of contribution characters as social agents make in social interaction. Such contributions include embodied actions involving speech and other kinds of signs that shape interactional events in various ways. The notion of "interactive field" developed by Charles Goodwin (2015; also C. Goodwin and M. Goodwin 2004) in his work on conversational narrative provides a useful tool for analyzing interaction in Teenlit. I use the term "talk" here for what is essentially fictional speech, which, unlike conversation in real life that minimally involves two people, is the product of one person's imagination (i.e., the author's). Nevertheless, as demonstrated by studies on how readers experience fiction (Stockwell 2002; Dancygier 2012), to read stories is to experience a social world in which events occur and characters interact with others, and of which we, as readers, are invited to be a part. Fictional interaction is therefore life-like but also differs from conversation in the kinds of resources authors make use of to construct sociality.

"Interactive field" (Goodwin 2015) refers to the active participation by people in a narrative event and the contribution of all aspects of the context, including

material objects, in constituting the telling event. "Participation" refers to "actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk" (C. Goodwin and M. Goodwin 2004:222). Goodwin (2015) shows that participants make various kinds of contributions in building a narrative in interaction, including through silence and by mobilizing resources provided by others. Goodwin points out that too often, analysis of narrative focuses solely on the "phenomena found within the stream of speech", which encompass all kinds of signs associated with speech contribution such as verbal language, hesitations, pauses, laughter and so forth. His study involving a non-speaking (silent) participant shows that, although the participant does not contribute verbally, the silent person responds to others through bodily movements that are coordinated in response to and in anticipation of another participant's verbal contribution. In another interaction, a man with aphasia, whose verbal capacity has been reduced to a three-word vocabulary, is shown to be nonetheless able to produce complex narrative by making use of resources provided by others as well as his own body movements. These examples suggest that concentrating exclusively on speech phenomena in the analysis of narrative would mean missing out on the crucial role non-typical contributions play in the organization of storytelling.

Teenlit novels provide us with a range of clues that can be examined to understand how participation in fictional events is organized. Apart from narrators' descriptions, which typically furnish details about where an event takes place, in which participants are present and the actions they perform, one can examine how participants respond to others' actions, and how, through participation in the interaction, subjectivity emerges. Utterances in fiction are typically represented in dialogue, but this is not the only place where speech and thought are presented. In descriptive sentences such as "Mary's father stepped in with congratulations" (Graham Greene, *Brighton Rock*, p. 137; cited in Semino and Short 2004:75), we are informed that a participant has produced an utterance but the details are not conveyed. Similarly, in Teenlit, the following description about a character's response to the speech of another character shows responsiveness to a prior utterance and thus active participation in the interaction: *Metha menoleh. Tampangnya langsung sewot.* "Metha turned around. She instantly fumed". As will be demonstrated, these kinds of speech and stance presentation all form part of the construction of the language/culture preservation talk in Teenlit. In the next section, I discuss the emergence of Teenlit as a genre, to situate the analysis of interaction that follows.

Teenlit as a local genre

In his work on the sociolinguistics of globalization, Blommaert (2010) stresses that semiotic processes of globalization do not entail a transformation of the local into a global place. Localities do not become "global" or "deterritorialized" (2010:79) just because elements from a higher level scale are imported; places remain local as translocal influences are received and adapted according to local norms and conditions. Globalization is therefore more appropriately viewed as movements

across translocalities. In accordance with Blommaert's position, in this section I discuss the transformation of Teenlit into a local genre following its adoption from the United States. By "local genre", I mean here a product of fiction written in Indonesian by Indonesian writers, which has gained value as a form of cultural practice. I would argue that the adaptation process, or more accurately, the "localization" of Teenlit has been driven by multiple factors that include criticisms of the genre itself.

The "Teenlit" genre emerged during the early phase of democratization and was introduced to Indonesia through translation. The *Princess Diaries* series, written by American author Meg Cabot, were among the early works that were translated into Indonesian. The overnight success of this series helped define the genre for the Indonesian audience. In 2001, the first Indonesian local Teenlit novel *Eiffel … I'm in Love* was published. This marked the beginning of the development of Teenlit as a local genre. With the freedom afforded by the new democratic climate and encouragement by major publishers who saw that the genre offered a lucrative market, budding young writers began producing Indonesian language novels. As noted by Simamora (2005), Teenlit filled the gap in a market dominated for many years by didactically written fiction and translated Japanese comics. Packaged as stories about the lives of urban teenagers written in a colloquial style and presented as books with brightly colored covers, with images of cheerful looking teenagers, Teenlit novels quickly captured the imagination of young middle-class readers. In a relatively short time, these novels became the preferred read among urban teens. At the same time, it sparked debates among educators, literary figures and the wider public about what should count as good reading for young people.

The adoption of the genre from the United States was not the main point of contestation however. Rather, the fact that it led to an assumption among writers at the time that they had to replicate the themes of American novels was. Many novels published in the first two to three years after *Eiffel… I'm in Love* closely imitated the American novels. These novels bear themes that revolve around a comfortable but unfamiliar world resembling that occupied by middle-class American teenage girls but populated by Indonesian urban teens. Fear that the language of Indonesian literature would be corrupted by the deluge of these pop novels, and concerns that young people would be preoccupied with "foreign" lifestyles depicted in them, dominated public debates about the genre. Thus, objections to the genre were expressed in terms of concerns not only about language but also morality (Djenar 2012). Writers responded to the criticisms in different ways, one of which is by producing new novels that deal with issues of public interest, such as education for girls from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds, the impact of natural disasters on village communities, and the implications of globalization on regional languages and cultures, an issue examined in this study. Although writing about these kinds of topics is something writers in other parts of the globe also do, what motivates the writing of Teenlit novels in Indonesia and how the genre is valued, are deeply conditioned by local concerns.

The three novels examined here, like Indonesian Teenlit novels generally, are written in a style that mixes standard and colloquial varieties of Indonesian in what critics consider as unstructured way. In narratorial descriptions, standard Indonesian is frequently interspersed with elements from colloquial Indonesian, thus blurring the traditional boundary between narration, which is normatively written in standard Indonesian, and dialogue, which is the domain of colloquial language. The mixed style also creates an impression that the narrator is a young person, just like the characters, who talks to the reader and invites them to take part in the event being described (Djenar and Ewing 2015). The blurred effect is also produced through use of free indirect discourse (Cohn 1978; Fludernik 1993; Eckardt 2014; Maier 2014, 2015), a common device for representing dual points of view—the narrator's and the character's. This style departs from older novels (e.g., Iskandar 1977; Nockzee 1992), which tend to observe the prescriptive separation between the language of narration and that of dialogue (Djenar and Ewing 2015). Because of this, Gunawan (2006) remarked that Teenlit is basically *bahasa lisan yang ditulis* "spoken language that is written". The authors have likewise been described as writers who "write the way they speak" (Kusmarwanti 2005). The themes have also been described in numerous blogs and book reviews as *sederhana* "simple" and *ringan* "light". But all these descriptions belie the complex and layered representations of young people and the languages and cultures they embody. The semiotic layering in the novels analyzed here is indicated through a range of indices, from personal names, languages the characters speak, their socioeconomic backgrounds, level of spatial mobility and ideological orientations. Minor characters who advance social causes are presented as ideologically heterogeneous, suggesting not only the contested nature of ethnicity and ethnic causes, but also the plurality of the voices that advance them. This kind of representation functions as metasemiotic commentary on the diversity of adolescents as a social group.

The theme of language/culture preservation is explored in the novels through characterization and plot rich in cultural and spatial semiotics (cf. Blommaert 2010:Chapter 3). It is represented most explicitly through the speech and conduct of minor characters and more broadly through the speech and conduct of the major characters. In Indonesia, and indeed elsewhere, the concern over the survival of local cultures and languages has been motivated by greater awareness of the accessibility of English and its increased use among speakers. The rapid increase in the use of English has caused anxiety among educators and language gatekeepers, who fear that use of English, would hamper the proper acquisition of standard Indonesian among the young. Debates about whether or not *bahasa gado-gado* "mixed language" should be encouraged regularly surface in public discourse. In terms of local languages, the realization that many members of the younger generation speak in colloquial Indonesian and lack knowledge of their parents' ethnic/local language have sparked concerns that local ways of doing things, including using language, may be lost. This concern comes from both parents and young people themselves, as seen for example in various blogs and online forums. Calls for the maintenance and revitalization of ethnic languages are frequently heard, including from

government representatives, who now argue that the nation needs better strategies to ensure the survival of these languages in a context where speakers increasingly favor speaking the national language, Indonesian, and are acquiring competence in English (Ibrahim 2018a, 2018b). Thus at the same time as people enjoy having greater political participation facilitated by the decentralization laws and increased social capital linked to knowledge of English, there is a sense that they have to continue preparing for *globalisasi*—something which, in the public imagination, is yet to come rather than something ongoing.

It is worth pointing out here that, unlike in Indonesia, the term "Teenlit" as the term is used in the United States, the United Kingdom or Australia, does not refer to a particular genre category of adolescent fiction. That it subsequently became the name for a sub-genre of popular adolescent fiction is both the result of a creative adaptation by Indonesian publishers, uptake by adolescent readers, and the reinforcement of the genre's existence by critics in public debates. This brief history suggests that what might initially be thought of as an example of *globalisasi*, whereby a popular fiction series was imported and translated into a "local" language (Indonesian), has shown itself to be an innovative result of translocalization.

The interactive construction of localization

In popular discourse, globalization advances from the global level scale to the local level scale, so to participate in global discourses one is to follow a trajectory from the local level toward the global. In the novels under study, it is taken for granted that global influences are already embedded within local practices, and so a translocalized position is where one starts, and to move to the next scale level an experience of localization is a requirement. Teenlit stories begin with the assumption that translocal influences are a given, but localization is not an experience every character has had. Localization, in the sense I use the term here, is an extension of Blommaert's idea of translocalization whereby global discourses move around different localities but through the process of adaptation, they remain localized:

> Languages and discourses move around, but they do so between spaces that are full of rules, norms, customs and conventions, and they get adapted to the rules, norms, customs and conventions of such places before moving further on their trajectories.
>
> (Blommaert 2010:80)

Localization is an *experience* of contact, of encounter with another and with a new setting, languages and cultural practices. Experiences of localization are transformative and help define one's subsequent life trajectories.

Translocal influences are represented at multiple levels in Teenlit. First of all, as a genre Teenlit developed from a foreign source. Second, at the story-world level, both the minor and major characters in the novels are urban citizens who have been exposed to translocal influences. The stories begin with them having had

such influences. The minor characters are informed by translocal influences yet are deeply local in world-view and stances; they are the symbolic vehicles by which major characters experience the local. Through the encounters with them, the main characters develop as subjects. Third, although the theme of language/culture preservation in the novels can be said to arise in response to local (i.e., the community of language users) concerns about the value of Teenlit as a genre, it is also a concern shared by other groups across the country and globally. Fourth, although Teenlit novels are written in Indonesian and mainly read by Indonesians, the main characters' spatial mobility reaches beyond national boundaries. Finally, the minor characters portrayed as the torchbearers of local causes in the novels carry various indices of identity drawn from both ethnic and translocal resources. For example, one character speaks in Javanese, dresses in Javanese traditional attire but sings effortlessly in English, another speaks in Betawi but prefers his ethnic name to be pronounced in English. In the next section, I discuss in more detail how translocal influences are woven into the theme of localization in the three novels through an analysis of participation in the interactive narrative field.

Betawi and the plight of a minority group in *Fairish*

Fairish (Kinasih 2005) is essentially a love story told from the point of view of the major character, Irish (short for Fairish), a quiet, plain-looking student of a high school in Jakarta. Another major character, Davi, is a newcomer to the school whose good looks has created fierce competition among the girls in Irish's class, who devise all sorts of tricks to vie for his attention, but arrogant and belligerent Davi took to Irish precisely because of her quiet demeanor and ordinary looks. Irish's calmness helps Davi overcome the trauma caused by a car accident that killed his previous girlfriend. Being with Irish also helps Davi overcome his guilt of being the driver of the car. The plot follows the gradual forming of the relationship between the two.

In *Fairish*, the language/culture preservation issue is highlighted through two minor characters of Betawi background, Udin (whose full name is "Chaeruddin") and Ucup, two students in Irish's class. Though both characters are Betawi and come from a low socio-economic background, they are presented as two individuals driven by different ideologies. Udin is a champion of Betawi language and culture, while Ucup consistently strives to be a non-Betawi. Udin is close to Irish and is a respected class member; Ucup, on the other hand, does little except annoy his classmates. Udin's mother makes a living by selling homemade lunches and Udin helps by taking orders from his friends and delivering the food to school. When Davi arrived at his new school, Udin had been absent for a week due to typhoid fever—an acute illness associated with people from third world countries, particularly those from the lower socio-economic stratum. When Udin returns to school, he resumes his usual activity of taking lunch orders for his mum, as described in (1).

In this interactive field, the discourse on localization is constructed through the participation of four voices: the narrator, Bambang, Adi and Udin himself. The narrator, or "author" in Goffman's (1981) typology of participants, takes the

trouble to mention Udin's full name, an act indexical of aligning with Udin's ideological position. This preferred position is further indicated by the participation of two other characters in the interaction. Bambang specifies he doesn't want *jengkol* (a kind of broad beans much loved for its taste but often avoided because of the lingering odor it produces in the eater's urine), and Adi wants his without eggplant. Both *jengkol* and eggplant are known as vegetables Betawi people are fond of. The intimacy between the participants is indicated by the use of Betawi by Bambang and Adi in speaking to Udin, the teasing from Adi, Udin's non-verbal response (grinning) and his subsequent retort, in which he uses the English loan word *inopatip* "innovative" (with Betawi pronunciation instead of standard Indonesian *inovatif*), indicating his familiarity with contemporary global discourse of which the English word (with all its connotations) is an element.

(1) *Di depan kelas, Udin, yang nama lengkapnya Chaeruddin—dan baru masuk hari ini setelah satu minggu absen gara-gara gejala tipus—sedang mencatat daftar pesanan teman-teman sekelas, seperti biasanya.*

"Aye kagak pake semur jengkol, Din!" kata Bambang.

"Aye kagak pake semur terong!" teriak Adi dari belakang. "Lagian nyak lo maksa bener sih. Terong disemur. Nape kagak timun aje sekalian!"

Udin nyengir kuda.

"Entu baru namenye inopatip!" kilahnya.

In front of the class, Udin, whose full name is Chaeruddin—and he only came in today after one week of absence due to typhoid fever—is taking orders from his classmates as usual.

"I don't want stewed *jengkol* in mine, Din!" said Bambang.

"I don't want stewed eggplant in mine!" Adi shouted from the back of the class. "Besides, your mum is really pushing it. Cooking eggplant by stewing. Maybe she should stew cucumbers too!"

Udin grinned like a Cheshire cat.

"That's called being innovative!" he retorted.

The localization discourse is further constructed through the narrator subsequently informing the reader that Udin speaks only in Betawi to his friends and that he demands they reciprocate, as shown in (2). The narrator also reports that the reason he does it is because he wants to "slow down the flow of globalization", and that Udin dislikes people who try too hard to be Western, like Ucup.[4] The narrator informs the reader further that Ucup prefers to have his name pronounced as "Yuwkap"—the Indonesian spelling of the English pronunciation of "U-cup"—and does not answer to "Cup" (pronounced "choup"), a common vocative for "Ucup". Here we have an instance of free indirect discourse being employed as a resource for linking the narrator's action of informing (as explicitly indicated by the opening clause "For your information") and Udin's pro-local stance. The narrator includes the following warning: *Yang kebarat-baratan kayak Yuwkap, so pasti tidak dilayani!* "Those who pretend to be westerners like Yuwkap, will definitely not be served!". This warning is not indicated, either typographically (e.g., by use of double inverted commas as in typical dialogue) or lexically (through use of a

reporting frame such as *katanya* or *katenye* "he said"), as the speech of a character, yet we get the feeling it is presented from Udin's point of view.

Toolan (1990:78) describes free indirect discourse as a type of discourse in which the narrator's and character's language and points of view are interwoven. I would argue here that the placement of this discourse following the narrator's initial informing and indirect report of Udin's voice, and before Udin's voice is rendered in direct speech, is significant. The free indirect discourse, which represents *both* the narrator's and Udin's points of view, is a resource employed here as a discursive link between the narrator's and Udin's ideological positions (i.e., the preferred position). It is a discourse that connects the narrator's subject position to that of Udin's.

(2) *Perlu diketahui, Udin memang cuma melayani pemesan yang memakai bahasa Betawi. Untuk meredam arus globalisasi, katanya, eh, katenye. Juga supaya nilai-nilai tradisional tidak tergusur. Yang kebarat-baratan kayak Yuwkap, so pasti tidak dilayani! "Elo pesennya ke Amrik aje gih sono!" begitu kata si Udin waktu Ucup minta sebungkus.* (Kinasih 2005:16)

For your information, Udin only serves customers who speak in Betawi. To slow down the flow of globalization, he says (*katanya*), eh, he says in Betawi (*katenye*). Also to prevent traditional values from disappearing. Those who pretend to be westerners like Yuwkap, will definitely not be served! "Why don't you send your order to America," so said Udin when Ucup asked for a packet of food.

The discourse on localization is further built through Davi's participation in the interaction, shown in (3). Davi is a newcomer who came from outside Jakarta so is assumed not to be proficient in Betawi language though he is familiar with it from exposure to media (he tells Irish he used to watch Si Doel, a popular television series about a Betawi community aired between 1994 and 2006, which is an adaptation of a successful film by the same name released in 1972). Davi joins in the interaction by asking Udin if he has cheap food packets. The girls in the class participate in the interaction by showing surprise non-verbally at hearing the cool person they fancy turns out to be a cheapskate. We see here an example of participation by non-speaking agents. By indicating surprise non-verbally, the girls are shown to be responsive to a prior action by another. Following the description of their response, the narrator participates in the interaction through use of free indirect discourse (*Ya ampun! Kece-kece mulutnya cablak!* "O My God! How can such a cool guy open his mouth so carelessly!"), evaluating Davi's action, before describing Irish's non-verbal response (of covering her mouth in amusement).

What follows from there is a lively conversation between Udin, Adi and Davi, showing Adi protesting to Udin for making a concession for Davi by allowing him to order a five-hundred rupiah packet where previously such a cheap deal did not exist. The interaction is a crucial catalyst for Davi's development as subject. The encounter with Udin enables him to feel at ease in his new locality. Udin's kind gesture in allowing him to get a cheap packet is a symbolic invitation to enter and be part of the local. Davi takes up this invitation. The final paragraph in the excerpt tells the reader the entire class participates in the interaction (by laughing), and

Davi, now feeling comfortably emplaced, gets up and moves to sit next to someone new, Fadli, to be closer to Udin, an important agent in his localization experience. Davi's ease at approaching someone new and his move towards Udin are symbolic actions that contribute to his evolving subjectivity.

(3) *"Ade nyang sebungkusnye gopek kagak?" tanyanya nyaring. Cewek-cewek langsung pada bengong.*
Ya ampun! Kece-kece mulutnya cablak! Irish menutup mulut, menahan tawa.
"Ade." Udin mengangguk. Yang lainnya kontan protes.
"Aaaah, elo! Mentang-mentang die anak baru. Kemaren-kemaren elo kagak kasih. Paling melarat ceceng!" protes Adi, langsung yang lain pada "he-eh".
"Sekarang ade," jawab Udin.
"Kalo gitu gue nyang gopekan aje dah," ujar Davi. "Menunye ape? Nasi doangan? Kagak ape-ape. Biar katenye cuman nasi, tapi kalo nasi uduk sih enak aje."
"Sape bilang nasi doangan?" kata Udin. "Ade sayurnye juge."
"Ah, nyang bener lo?" Adi terbelalak. "Wah, nih die. Zaman lagi suseh begini, jarang-jarang ada makanan nyang masing mure."
"Iye. Sayur sisa kemaren. Nasinye juge. Mangkenye, khusus nyang pesen gopekan, entar gue liat dulu. Ade sise apa kagak."
Semuanya tertawa lagi. Termasuk Davi. Dia malah bangun, terus pindah duduk di bangku Fadli. Persis di depan Udin.

"Does it come in five hundred rupiah packets?" he asked without hesitation. The girls were stunned. O My God! How can such a cool guy open his mouth so carelessly! Irish covers her mouth with her hand, trying hard not to laugh.
"Yes it does." Udin nodded. The others protested at once.
"Whoa, how could you! You said that just cause he's a new kid. You didn't tell us about that before. You said the cheapest was a thousand!" Adi protested, followed by a "yeah" from the others.
"Well I have it now," Udin replied.
"If that's the case, I'll have the five hundred rupiah packet," said Davi. "What do you get for it? Just rice? No problem if it is. Even if it's just rice, if it's coconut rice it's delicious."
"Who says it's just rice?" said Udin. "It's got veggies too."
"Huh, are you serious?" Adi couldn't believe it. "Wow, this is it. In today and age, you don't often find cheap food."
"Yeah. It's leftover veggies from yesterday. The rice is too. That's why, if you order a five hundred packet, I have to check first. If there's any left or not."
Everyone laughed again. Including Davi. He even got up and moved to sit at Fadli's desk. Right in front of Udin.

While the reader is given information about Udin's background, not much is known about Ucup's. The little we know comes from the speech of another character, Metha, as shown in (4).

(4) *"Daripada elo! Jauh-jauh dari kampung hijrah ke Jakarta, eh begitu lahir namanya Ucup lagi Ucup lagi!"* (Kinasih 2005:7)
"But look at you! You came all the way from the *kampung* to Jakarta, and the name you automatically got at birth was Ucup, yes it's Ucup!"[5]

The differences between Udin's and Ucup's actions in response to the discourse on globalization—actions performed through engagement with others in interaction—indicate the diversity in local responses to this discourse. Ucup's bad attitude, according to the narrator, is a result of *pengaruh globalisasi* "the influence of globalization" (Kinasih 2005:7). Phrases such as *arus globalisasi* "flow of globalization" and *pengaruh globalisasi* "the influence of globalization" suggest that participation in the globalization process is not a matter of choice but a case of being swept along by it (cf. Tsing 2009:60). One can take actions to counter it, like Udin does, or be obliterated by it, as the novel seems to imply is Ucup's predicament.

The contrast between the two Betawi characters is also a contrast between preferred and dispreferred ideological positions respectively. Udin is the preferred Betawi identity: feisty but generous and socially engaged. This identity is communicated through several indices: possession of a full name, a family and friendships. Ucup on the other hand, is known only by his nickname and has a precarious relationship with others. Both characters do not play a significant role in the latter part of the novel, but they constitute a crucial vehicle that facilitates Davi's experience of localization. At the beginning of the story Udin is the person Irish took refuge with when Davi treated her carelessly, so for Davi, Udin is a bridge to Irish, and it is by being with her, a local girl, that Davi matures as an individual. In this way, subjects are linked through common participation in the interactive field.

Cultural heritage and global resonances in *Canting Cantiq*

Canting Cantiq (CC) is a novel with a strong message about the preservation of *batik* as an Indonesian heritage.[6] The message is packaged as a story about a teen girl, Melanie, who comes from a wealthy background and who, due to family misfortune, is forced to move from the capital Jakarta to the city of Yogyakarta in Central Java to live with her grandfather, whom she last met when she was little but who has been described by her father as someone who loved traveling overseas, a *backpacker sejati* "true backpacker" (Nuranindya 2009:17). Melanie's interaction with Javanese-speaking young people in Yogyakarta leads to a successful career in *batik* design, and this in turn, enables her to realize her dream to studying fashion design in Paris. Melanie is introduced to the Javanese world by Saka, one of the student boarders at her grandfather's house and the first person she encountered when she arrived. Unlike Udin in *Fairish* who struggles to maintain his ethnic heritage, Javanese youth in *CC* are portrayed as confident about the survival of their language and culture. So, whereas Udin says his purpose in speaking Betawi is to guard it against obsolescence, Saka does not feel the need to justify speaking Javanese. Not only that, Saka's unshaken belief in the value of his language is illustrated in his initial encounter with Melanie, shown in (5). The description of this character is rendered in free indirect discourse, blending the narrator's voice with Melanie's point of view.

Saka greets Melanie for the first time using high Javanese register (*krama*), which is highly unusual. The action of addressing a stranger of comparable age in *krama*, in a city known for its cultural conservatism but also its incredibly dynamic youth activism, is both a gesture of politeness and an assertion of local identity. Saka uses the pronoun *kula* "1sg" to introduce himself, a pronoun that indexes humility and one not commonly used in speaking to one's contemporary. His name means "pillar" in Javanese, suggesting he is of strong character. The semiotic construction of Saka as a modern Javanese identity also includes reference to recombinant elements (Bucholtz 2015) that exude coolness. Saka, a cosmopolitan Javanese young male, is soft-spoken like stereotypical Javanese but unconventional in dressing. He cleverly blends tradition with modernity by pairing traditional *lurik*—handwoven cotton fabric with striped motif—with a flip-flop and a ponytail. Later in the story, Melanie's positive impression of him grows stronger when she hears him play the guitar and sing articulately in English. Melanie's encounter with him marks the beginning of her experience of localization.

(5) *Cowok itu kelihatannya cowok baik-baik. Tutur katanya lembut dan sopan banget. Penampilannya terkesan jadul. Dengan baju lurik Jawa, sandal jepit, dan rambut yang dikucir dengan karet. "**Kula** Saka," cowok itu memperkenalkan diri dalam bahasa Jawa.* (Nuranindya 2009: 28)

He looks like a good guy. He speaks in a gentle voice and is incredibly polite. He dresses himself in an old fashioned style. With a *lurik* shirt, thongs, and hair tied with a rubber band to a ponytail. "I'm Saka," he introduced himself in Javanese.

Like Udin, Saka is a minor character but is ideologically important. Through interaction with Saka and other Javanese characters, Melanie gradually sheds the smug superiority that comes from being a wealthy Jakartan and learns to appreciate another culture, which aids her maturing into a person capable of taking on an ambitious self-project of being an internationally known designer. This ambition is nurtured during her internship at a prestigious *batik* boutique, under the tutelage of its owner, a respected *batik* designer who recognizes Melanie's talent and gives her a scholarship to study in Paris. Thus for Melanie, being open to local influences enables self-realization.

The theme of *batik* as a cultural practice and national heritage in need of preservation is not new in Indonesian fiction. An acclaimed novel by Arswendo Atmowiloto (1986) titled *Canting* also bears this theme, but what is new in *CC* is the way in which this theme is packaged within the broader context of globalization, linking the local city of Yogyakarta to Indonesia and the world. It presents a solution to the local issue by projecting outward beyond the local rather than exercising self-reflection, questioning practices within Javanese culture itself. Atmowiloto's characters end up having to admit that the traditional *batik* industry and its associated Javanese philosophy can no longer serve modern times. By contrast, the protagonist in Nuranindya's novel recognizes the value of this cultural heritage and the knowledge she has gained about this heritage gives her the

confidence to move forward and look beyond Yogyakarta and Indonesia. The protagonist is able to realize her dream of studying fashion in Paris precisely because of her interaction with young Javanese friends who introduced her to the local ways of doing things and to the internship at the local boutique. The ongoing evolution of subjectivity, then, cannot be explained by focusing on Melanie the protagonist. The minor characters constitute the point of departure for the future trajectory of Javanese culture.

Youth and Javanese language in *Pieces of Joy*

Like *CC*, *Pieces of Joy* (*PoJ*) (Terate 2011) deals with the question of Javanese identity. The difference is, whereas in *CC* this identity is highlighted through a contrast with a Jakartan cosmopolitan identity embodied by the protagonist, *PoJ* contrasts two Javanese identity positions: preferred and dispreferred identities, similar to *Fairish*. Like *Fairish*, the juxtaposition of different identities in *PoJ* highlights the heterogeneity of ideological positions within an ethnic group.

PoJ is told from the point of view of Joy, a girl from Bandung (West Java) who attends school in Yogya. The novel opens with her meeting Stink, the dispreferred character. Stink's unlikeable character is indicated through several semiotic indices. First, his name is not a flattering one for a young man. Second, he is a university drop-out who works as an attendant at a comics and DVD rental shop ironically called "Utopia", and supplements his income by busking in the main streets of Yogyakarta. Third, although Stink combines a *batik* shirt and a choker, which could look cool, he talks to his friends in *ngoko*, the low register of Javanese. The narrator explicitly mentions this to make a point about Stink's unrefined behavior rather than to indicate his facility with language. Joy falls for Stink because of his easygoing temperament. Her description of him is shown in (6).

(6) *Tapi dia beda. Dia aneh, urakan, cuek, tapi lucu, manis, dan perhatian banget. Kalau kamu sudah mengenalnya sih.* (Terate 2011:9)

But he's different. He's strange, wild, couldn't care less about what others think, but also funny, sweet, and really caring. When you get to know him that is.

Joy's infatuation with Stink is short-lived however. His unpredictable behavior makes her realize that his carefree lifestyle does not suit her. As she becomes ambivalent toward him and eventually initiates a breakup, Joy meets Ronal, son of her father's friend who studies geology at the prestigious Gajah Mada University. On Ronal's encouragement, Joy reorients herself toward study and starts thinking about possibilities after high school. The novel ends with her developing a close friendship with Ronal.

Like Stink, Wening is also Javanese and a close friend of Joy's. However, unlike Stink, Wening is the embodiment of a "good" Javanese. Her name means "calm" in Javanese, and she is described by Joy as *pendiam, sederhana, dan cenderung minder*

"quiet person, down to earth, and tends to be introverted" (Terate 2011:10)—stereotyped characteristics of Javanese women. From Wening, Joy learns about the different registers of Javanese and their social meanings (2011:28–29), and through this, she comes to understand what constitutes preferred and dispreferred cultural models. This understanding in turn enables her to realize her own mistakes and develops as a character. Encounters with Stink, Wening and Ronal are encounters with different subject positions and thus with localization.

Conclusion

In all three novels, the issue of language/culture preservation is conveyed through the discursive construction of the local. Locality and localization are represented by different subject positions, as indicated by the conduct of different characters and the various semiotic elements associated with them, including personal names, physical appearance, and styles of speaking. Only the champions of local causes are given indigenous names: Udin and Ucup in *Fairish*, Saka in *CC*, and Wening in *PoJ*. The other characters, including the protagonists, have (adapted) English names (Fairish, Melanie, Joy, Stink, Ronal), which reflect an orientation toward English as a new cultural resource in Indonesia. Local characters (both the preferred and the dispreferred) are characterized by low mobility. They remain in the locality throughout, while the main characters such as Davi in *Fairish*, Melanie in *CC*, and Joy in *PoJ*, who originally came from outside the locality, have the social capital to chart a future trajectory beyond the local. But to do this, they must undergo self-transformation that can only be facilitated by an experience of localization.

Having characters with indigenous names who speak in local languages give the novels local flavor and an air of authenticity. But these also constitute a political act on the part of the authors. To include Betawi or Javanese language in a genre dominated by colloquial Jakartan Indonesian is to make a point about the value of these languages and the cultural heterogeneity of their speakers. This act can be understood in different ways. One may interpret it as the authors wanting to say that, like the young characters, young Indonesians are concerned about the "flow of globalization", and that youth from minority groups can own their social struggle, rather than being struggled for. Alternatively, one can also interpret it as a didactic message, that young people should care about maintaining local cultures and languages and take action. Either way, it remains that the local characters are presented as socially peripheral. At one level this representation could be considered as not being commensurate with the importance of the cause, and that it only reinforces the peripherality of marginal voices. By incorporating Betawi and Javanese in the novels, the authors in effect emphasize the minor status of those languages *vis-à-vis* Indonesian and English. However, at another level one can also argue that the representation is "quasi- mimetic" (Fludernik 1996:13)—it approximates real life in Indonesia where some ethnic groups are indeed a minority, and that even a large ethnolinguistic group such as the Javanese is not free from concerns about language loss. By having minor characters as language champions,

the novels stay true to the small, peripheral scale of the voices of *wong cilik* and intimate the local as a site of action. The discourse on language and culture in the three novels, which emphasizes the importance of locality, is therefore more appropriately called a discourse-on-localization rather than discourse-on-globalization.

Despite its "foreign" origin and the theme of global influences explored in the three novels and many other Teenlit novels not discussed here (e.g., *Eiffel … I'm in love* mentioned earlier and the numerous offspring it has produced), Teenlit remains peripheral and localized in several senses. Though the genre links Indonesian writers and readers to their counterparts in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and other parts of the world, where Teenlit novels are published, the connection is essentially unidirectional. English language novels are imported to Indonesia and read either in the original form or through translation, while Indonesian Teenlit novels are basically read by local audiences, partly because of the language in which they are written, a situation not dissimilar to the Tanzanian novel discussed by Blommaert (2010:Chapter 3), and partly because it is a pop genre. Many Indonesian novels have been translated into English (and some have been translated into other languages such as Japanese and Dutch), but Teenlit novels do not attract the interest of literary translators. Indonesian Teenlit thus remains peripheral in the global fiction market.

Teenlit is also peripheral in another sense. Within Indonesia itself, the authors are considered as commercial writers, not as writers of *sastra* "Literature" and hence occupy a peripheral position in the literary world. At story-world level, the inclusion of local languages such as Betawi and Javanese and their speakers may signal a renewed interest in ethnic identity and draw attention to the plight of marginal people. However, it also highlights Hobsbawm's (2007) point that globalization deepens the socio-economic disparity between peoples. It also accentuates the stratification of language and the ideological tension among its speakers that Bakhtin (1981:263, 314) alerts us to. Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that Teenlit is read by middle-class Indonesians. These are people and social agents who have the resources to take local issues to a larger scale level, either nationally or beyond it. In this sense, raising the language and culture preservation issue in the novels could well be as a strategic act.

In this study I have considered narrator and characters as participants in an interactive narrative field. Although these entities are all the creation of the author, I hope to have shown that viewing them as social agents who contribute meaningfully to interaction is useful for understanding the discursive organization of localization and translocalization. Finally, I also hope to have demonstrated that occasions of contact, which I have described here as encounters, are moments that facilitate a symbolic linking and thus continuity, between subjectivities.

Notes

1 Indeed, as Calhoun (2002:147) points out, globalization is presented in Asia, Latin America and other places in terms of a self-propelling "economistic imaginary", giving governments and citizens no choice but to adapt.

2 Undang-Undang Nomer 22 Tahun 1999, p. 1.

3 I use "local" for what others commonly refer to as "regional" or "ethnic" languages (see Utsumi 2012) and cultures, to align with the focus of this chapter.
4 The Betawi language, also known as Jakarta Malay, is spoken by some 5 million people around the Jakarta region and is classified as "threatened" (Lewis et al. 2015). www.ethnologue.com/language/bew, accessed 28 April 2015.
5 Kampung can refer to a village or an urban village. Here Jakarta refers to the metropolitan center, while kampung is area on the periphery where Ucup comes from.
6 Batik was inscribed by UNESCO as part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2009. The author mentioned that *CC* was inspired by it (interview with Nuranindya, 2011).

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8

MODELING CONTACT TALK ON TELEVISION

Zane Goebel

Introduction

Nearly forty years of research on talk-in-interaction, together with scholarship that reconceptualizes language, identity, community, and context has invited us to see contact with those who do not share similar semiotic repertoires or histories of socialization as the default human condition (e.g., Agha 2007; Blommaert and Rampton 2015; Rampton 1995; Tannen 1984; Wortham 2006). This chapter starts with the assumption that this type of CONTACT is the default condition and I henceforth put contact in small caps when I use contact in this sense. In their introduction to this volume, Goebel, Cole and Manns refer to the semiotic forms used to mediate communication during CONTACT as CONTACT REGISTERS. My point of departure in this chapter is my attempt to define a specific type of CONTACT REGISTER: that which is found in talk in CONTACT on television. Such talk can be seen as a model of language in social life, rather than language in social life: hence my chapters title "modeling contact talk". In addition to drawing on the theoretical work done in the introduction to this volume, I theorize this particular type of CONTACT REGISTER by building on some of my other earlier work and four streams of sociolinguistic thought (see later in this chapter).

Where my own work is concerned, I bring together work on talk-in-interaction in contact zones, which examined how new semiotic registers emerged amongst particular participant constellations in urban Indonesia (Goebel 2002, 2010a, 2010b), work on televised representation of such contact situations (Goebel 2008, 2013b, 2015), and more recent collaborative and individual work that brings together these two areas of scholarship with recourse to ideas about social value and normativity (Goebel 2018, 2019; Goebel, Cole, and Manns this volume). In proposing the idea of MODELING CONTACT TALK, I also draw intellectual inspiration from work that focuses on processes of REGISTER FORMATION; TRANSLINGUALISM; DIVERSITY TALK, TRANSIENCE, and ideas around PRIDE AND PROFIT.

The part of work on REGISTER FORMATION that is most relevant to the discussion at hand, examines how metasemiotic commentaries frame the social value of ongoing discursive activity, and how institutional authority helps in the process of register formation (Agha 2007, 2017). Work on TRANSLINGUALISM invites us to think about and theorize the medium used during contact (e.g., Dovchin 2018; Garcia and Wei 2014; Jørgensen et al. 2011; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). In contrast, scholarship on DIVERSITY TALK (e.g., the papers in Faudree and Schulthies 2015), and TRANSIENCE (e.g., the papers in Lønsmann et al. 2017) can be synthesized as work that applies thinking on processes of register formation to different forms of discursive activity that evaluate communicative activity during contact. Work on PRIDE AND PROFIT provides insights into the relationship between processes of register and model formation that are authorized by nation-state apparatus and those that are authorized by the market (Heller et al. 2015; Heller and Duchêne 2012b). My synthesis of all of the above work enables me to further clarify the processes and discursive work involved in framing televised representations as MODELS OF CONTACT, and the mediums used in such contact zones as CONTACT TALK. I start by synthesizing the above-mentioned scholarship, before then examining three different television programs that semiotically model CONTACT TALK in different ways.

Contact, register, regimes of authorization, and the modeling of contact talk

Forty years of scholarship on language in social life, especially insights from work on superdiversity and transience (Blommaert and Rampton 2015; Goebel 2010a, 2010b; Lønsmann et al. 2017), invites us to think of contact with strangers as the default human condition. In such contexts, people are never exact replicas of others in terms of their histories of socialization to use semiotic resources (Blommaert and Backus 2011; Scollon et al. 2012; Tannen 1984). As scholars concerned with interdiscursivity (e.g., the papers in Agha 2005; Bauman and Briggs 1990; Lempert 2014), and processes of register formation (Agha 2007) have observed, this means that in any interaction the meaning of semiotic resources brought to such interactions emerges through: (1) their recontextualization in interaction; (2) their recognition; and (3) through discursive activity that signal the appropriateness or lack thereof of these resources.

In this chapter, I thus use the term CONTACT both as a descriptor and theoretical perspective that sees all human contact as contact between those who do not share exactly the same semiotic repertories. The social practices and the semiotic forms that mediate this social practice during CONTACT are what Goebel, Cole, and Manns (this volume) refer to as CONTACT REGISTERS. Goebel, Cole, and Manns's (this volume) concept of CONTACT REGISTER is distinguishable from other concepts, such as TRANSLANGUAGING (Garcia and Wei 2014), POLYLANGUAGING (Jørgensen, et al. 2011), and METROLINGUALISM (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015) because its scope does not just involve language use in contact between migrants and hosts or contact in city spaces, but rather it refers to communicative practices that occur in any

encounter. Here I further build on the contact part of this concept by also emphasizing the links between communicative practices and evaluative practices. While the idea of CONTACT REGISTER thus has a larger scope than the above concepts, it does have a number of things in common with work on TRANSCIENCE (Goebel 2010a, 2010b; Lønsmann et al. 2017), TRANSGLOSSIA (Sultana 2015), DIVERSITY TALK (Faudree and Schulthies 2015), and LINGUASCAPES (Dovchin 2018).

With the exception of variation in the settings and participation frameworks under investigation, a common theme on work on TRANSCIENCE, TRANSGLOSSIA, DIVERSITY TALK, and LINGUASCAPES is that they seek to understand how discursive activity contributes to the emergence of normativities during CONTACT. As I point out elsewhere (Goebel 2019), these discourses are commentaries that reflexively frame the appropriateness, or more precisely the social value, of social practice and the semiotic forms that mediate social practice. Such commentaries occur as practice unfolds as well as after it unfolds. Examples of the former can be drawn from studies of talk in small participation frameworks, such as work on conversational narrative (e.g., Georgakopoulou 2007; Ochs and Capps 2001). Examples of the latter, can be found in work on gossip (Besnier 2009; Goebel 2010b, 2017a), as well as in mass-mediated commentaries about contact (Agha 2003; Inoue 2006; Miller 2004). In both types of studies, discursive activity in the form of a commentary that focus on unexpected events helps to (re)produce and project normativities, such as expected social conduct during contact (Goebel 2019).

These commentaries about expected social conduct include commentaries about the expected use of linguistic signs (e.g., the said or the written)—that, is metapragmatic commentaries—as well as commentaries about the expected use of other signs (i.e. metasemiotic commentary). Elsewhere (Goebel 2019), I have referred to these commentaries in general as CONTACT DISCOURSE, while I have also typologized CONTACT DISCOURSE in terms of participation and authorization frameworks. Of concern in the rest of this chapter are two components of this typology, MODELS OF CONTACT, and CONTACT TALK (both defined later), and how both metapragmatic and metasemiotic commentaries found in television representations of CONTACT contribute to the modeling of contact talk.

MODELS OF CONTACT refers to how multimodal representations of contact in one-to-many participation frameworks, such as television and radio broadcasts and classrooms, project normativities around CONTACT (Goebel 2019). In this participation framework, the representation is the "one", while the viewers, listeners, and readers represents the "many". It is also important to emphasize that the notion of MODEL not only refers to a multimodal model, but it also refers to the idea that models are changeable and typically authorized. For example, in the case of school classrooms, they and the interactions that go on inside them can be authorized by either the state or some for-profit organization. Taking inspiration from the work of Hobsbawm (1992) and Wallerstein (2004) scholars have referred to this in terms of PRIDE AND PROFIT (Heller et al. 2015; Heller and Duchêne 2012b). In the case of PRIDE, this refers to how nation-building apparatus such as schools and television broadcasters authorize particular mediums as the language of the nation. In

contrast, one aspect of the concept PROFIT refers to how economic conditions force companies to seek new niche markets in and through the use of language.

Whichever MODEL OF CONTACT is authorized, typically their participation framework sits in contrast with the CONTACT TALK one finds in everyday talk between a small participant constellation (e.g., face-to-face talk). Even so, MODELS OF CONTACT often also contain models of CONTACT TALK, which I define as "talk about human contact that consist of accounts of what is expected during contact" (Goebel 2019). Such accounts value or devalue the practices and participants in the account, while policing social practice. It is this modeling of contact talk within authorized one-to-many participation frameworks that I refer to as MODELING CONTACT TALK. In what follows, I will focus on one of these participation frameworks, namely television broadcasts. I focus on these, rather than newspaper stories, novels, blogs, and so on for two pragmatic reasons. First, I have been focusing on this type of data for some time (Goebel 2008, 2013b, 2015). Second, this focus has pointed to a change in the modeling of contact talk from the beginnings of Indonesian television in the early 1960s to the late 2000s, which represents the most recent period in which I have collected television broadcast data.

Television in Indonesia

As elsewhere in the world (Hobsbawm 1992), television broadcasting networks and television broadcasts in Indonesia have been used by the apparatus of nation-states for nation building, including building pride in the nation, and developing a sense of what geographic areas constitute the nation, who inhabits the nation, and what language they speak (Kitley 2000). While the first television broadcasts in Indonesia were not until the early 1960s (Kitley 2000:23–24), it wasn't until the late 1970s that local stations and repeater infrastructures were established across the Indonesian archipelago (Kitley 2000:38–47). For many years broadcasts were purposely in an emerging national language, *Bahasa Indonesia* "Indonesian", and from the beginning this was seen as one means for creating national unity (Kitley 2000:24–47).

The regimentation on television of the nation's language as the language of one people from one territory followed a familiar semiotic formula (nation + people + linguistic form = language), and this was imitated in relation to ethnic languages too (Goebel 2015). With very few exceptions, CONTACT TALK was modeled as occurring in Indonesian in television programming until the late 1980s (Kitley 2000:98, 112–137). This changed in the early 1990s for a number of reasons. These reasons included the deregulation of Indonesian television from 1990 onwards which enabled four new commercial television stations (ANTEVE, RCTI, SCTV and TPI) to compete with the government broadcaster, TVRI (Kitley 2000; Sen and Hill 2000). While this market expansion was initially driven by a few economically and politically powerful people (Kitley 2000:230–231), the rising cost of inputs caused by foreign currency fluctuations and negative evaluations about programming by audiences quickly saturated this new market and engendered moves to increase market share (Loven 2008; Rachmah 2006). This was done by looking

for new ethnic niche audiences and consumers via local content programming, which included the modeling of ethnolinguistic life.

This included the modeling of ethnic clothing styles, ethnic housing, demeanors, and ethnic languages as in the now famous soap opera, *Si Doel Anak Sekolah* "Doel an educated lad", that was first broadcast in 1994 (Goebel 2008; Loven 2008; Rachmah 2006; Sen and Hill 2000). In this soap, there were also examples of MODELING CONTACT TALK. For example, two of the main characters were narratively framed as relative strangers from different ethnic groups, yet their talk regularly contained linguistic forms stereotypically associated with a number of named ethnic languages (Goebel 2013a, 2013b, 2015). Such MODELING OF CONTACT TALK contrasted with the national narrative that contact required linguistic forms stereotypically associated with Indonesian.

The success of local content programming encouraged other producers of television programming to imitate the format of local content (Loven 2008; Rachmah 2006); that is, the use of signs pointing to ethnic-ness became a "sell-well" format. This change in the language of programming co-occurred with ongoing political and fiscal decentralization that started in 2001 and contributed to increases in the social value of ethnicity and ethnic languages in Indonesia (Davidson and Henley 2007). To get votes in political contests candidates used ethnic languages in speeches (Aspinall 2011; Harr this volume), parents and academics pressured schools to teach ethnic languages (e.g., Arps 2010; Mertosono 2014; Zentz this volume), political figures and bureaucrats made regular calls for the use of ethnic languages as the language of the office (e.g., Moriyama 2012; Goebel 2017b), and language increasingly became a commodity in the tourism industry (Hariyadi et al. 2015; Cole this volume). These efforts, along with the ongoing marketization of ethnicity on television and for tourism, all contributed to the ongoing revaluating of local ethnic languages (*Bahasa daerah*) vis-à-vis Indonesian, as well as an increase in the MODELING OF CONTACT TALK on television, as we will see later.

Modeling contact talk

In this section, I provide three examples of the modeling of contact talk. These examples were drawn from a database of around four hundred hours of television recordings that I made in 2009 while in rural Cirebon, West Java (discussed in more detail in Goebel 2015). In comparison to the early 1990s, by 2009 the number of broadcasters had more than doubled in Java with my own database from Cirebon included ten Jakarta-based commercial broadcasters and a Cirebon-based one. My examples, represent a more general pattern of using linguistic fragments associated with multiple ethnic languages across most television genres. My first example is taken from a quiz show. The second is from a skit show specifically designed for the early hours of the day (3–4 AM) during the Islamic fasting month, while the third is taken from a comedic *sinetron* "soap opera".

Excerpt 1 is taken from the quiz show *Siapa Lebih Berani* "Who is Braver". This quiz show was aired each day between seven and eight in the morning on

the broadcaster, RCTI. Like many shows of the same genre, this show has household items and cash as prizes. This show elicits groups of participants for subsequent shows by advertising for them during each show. Teams of around twenty participants are chosen and then presented with general knowledge questions and survey results. This is one television genre where contact between strangers is a constant feature of the show, although because of their wish to be participants in the first place, contestants may have known something about the hosts. During this particular episode, there are five groups of around fifteen to twenty participants. Midway into the quiz, the hosts announce which members of the group have won household items. At the end of each sequence of prize giving, one member from each group is selected to compete for the major prize.

While the female presenter, Alya Rohali, uses linguistic fragments stereotypically associated with ethnic languages (henceforth ethnic languages) throughout the show, her usage increases as she greets each of these five people. As can be seen in Excerpt 1 she refers to herself and addresses some of the chosen contestants with Sundanese fragments (in bold), while also speaking to the male host using Betawi fragments more generally (bold small caps). This interaction occurs after the male host, Helmy, invites a new participant from group B to play for a prize. The male participant greets Helmy and shakes his hand (lines 1–3), without doing the same with Alya. To increase the readability of the transcripts I have just represented what is said, rather than how it is said. For those interested in the latter, a multimodal analysis of these models of contact talk can be found in Goebel (2015).

Excerpt 1 Modeling contact talk in a contact genre

Helmy		
1	siapa nama **elu**	What is **your** name?
Contestant		
2	nando (shakes Helmy's hand and walks	Nando.
3	straight to podium)	
Alya		
4	cuekin **gué** mutus, awas ya	Ignore [me] **I** will ignore [you], look out.
Helmy		
5	Ya	Yes, [look out].
Alya		
6	soal kamu saya susahin	I'll make your questions hard.
Helmy		
7	Dia, dia soalnya tidak melayani tanté,	She, the issue is she doesn't respond
8	nggak tanté lah ya	[if called] Auntie, it's not Auntie OK [everyone].
Alya		
9	**teteh,** gila	[Everyone call me] **Older sister**, got it.
Lines deleted. Contestant from Group D is called up. He first greets Helmy and then Alya.		
Contestant		
10	halo tanté	Hi Auntie.

Alya

11	**munjungan**, kata orang sunda	[That greeting he just performed]
12	**munjungan**	is a **greeting** which Sundanese call **munjungan**.

Siapa Lebih Berani broadcast on RCTI, Tuesday 11 August 2009, (7–8 AM)

In Excerpt 1, the activity type is framed as contact through a question-answer sequence. In particular, the question sequence about the contestant's name (line 1) metapragmatically frames the contestant as unknown to Helmy, while the contestant's reply and embodied practice models social conduct during CONTACT. Note that on line 1, Helmy also uses linguistic forms for other reference, *elu* "you", that are stereotypically associated with Jakarta, youth, and Betawi ethnicity. This is used instead of forms for "you" that are stereotypically associated with Indonesian (henceforth Indonesian) such as *anda*, (*eng*)*kau* or *kamu*, which is used by Alya on line 6. The normativity of this model of contact is reinforced through Alya's commentary about Nando's failure to greet her in the same way (lines 4–6), as well as through Helmy's subsequent explanation about Alya's reaction (7–8).

The model of contact talk that includes alternating between Indonesian and ethnic languages is reinforced in a number of places. On line 4, for example, Alya refers to herself using *gué* "I", a form stereotypically associated with Jakarta, youth, and Betawi ethnicity and *saya* (line 6) a form stereotypically associated with Indonesian. On lines 9 and 11–12, Alya uses forms stereotypically associated with another ethnic language, Sundanese. Here these are the kin term *teteh* "older sister" and the term for describing greeting behavior, *munjungan*. Note too, that the latter form is also metapragmatically associated with Sundanese ethnicity (lines 11–12). In doing so, Alya also draws attention to the Sundanese-ness of some of her talk. In the same episode, she also uses a linguistic form *sopo* "who" stereotypically associated with Javanese in her talk with another contestant (see Goebel 2015:149).

Each of these fragments of ethnic languages have Indonesian equivalents which the presenters used elsewhere, thus reasons for using them have little to do with unfamiliarity with the terms appropriate for public address and for CONTACT. An alternate, more likely interpretation, is that the positive revaluation of ethnic languages that occurred in the lead up to this 2009 programming (see the previous section), and the continued need to attract niche markets figured in decisions about this language usage; both from the perspective of the presenters and those who produce such shows. This interpretation is in line with work on the production of local content television in Indonesia (Loven 2008), and the trend of including fragments of ethnic language in nearly all television programming (Goebel 2015); something that we will see in our analysis of MODELS OF CONTACT TALK in Excerpts 2 and 3.

Excerpt 2 is from the comedy skit entitled *Acara Saatnya Kita Sahur*, which I awkwardly translate as "A show for us while we are eating prior to the daily fast".

This show was aired on TransTV each day during the fasting month between three and four in the morning in 2009. In this skit, there is a foreigner, who is modeled not only using forms stereotypically associated with Indonesian, but also those stereotypically associated with Javanese (henceforth Javanese). Initially, the interaction is between two people and a third person, Komeng, who has phoned them and asked them to get his suitcase, which he has left behind. These two people are standing and practicing English with the aid of dictionaries in an airport waiting room or perhaps a hotel.

They are then interrupted when an unknown young woman arrives. The ensuing interaction is framed as one of CONTACT, not just through the visible differences in physical appearance, but through the two men's attempts to communicate with this person via a series of medium alternation and medium naming sequences. They start using fragments of English, thus framing contact as requiring a medium other than they had been using, before then suggesting Sacha maybe Spanish and thus needs to be addressed with an appropriate term for "you". When this doesn't receive uptake, they then alternate to linguistic forms stereotypically associated with Italian, French, German, Arabic and Dutch. Each failed uptake is followed by a new language and an utterance "she must be French, Dutch, and so on". The latter helps frame the provenance of an utterance, while also reinforcing the frame as one of contact. After engaging in self-repair (of each medium), the two give up in despair and start speaking a medium that is later named as Javanese. Until this use of Javanese, the person, Sacha, acts increasingly confused, but says nothing. Indonesian is in plain font and Javanese is in bold caps. Forms that can be classified as either Indonesian or Javanese are in italics, and forms that can be classified as either Sundanese or Indonesian are underlined.

Excerpt 2 Modeling contact talk in a skit

Participant 1		
1	**ORA** *usah*	**DON'T** *worry about* [it].
Participant 2		
2	Ah	Ah.
Participant 1		
3	**WIS** lah, *aku*. *aku* **RA** *ngerti mesti* diapain	[We're] **DONE**. *I*, *I* **DON'T** *know* what [we] *should* do.
Participant 2		
4	**SAMI KARO** *aku*	[That] **IS THE SAME AS** *Me*.
Participant 1		
5	*Aku*	*I*.
Participant 2		
6	**MBUH RAK** *ngerti*	**DON'T KNOW**, **DON'T** *know*.
Participant 1		
7	**MBOTEN NGERTOS** lah, capai lah	[I] **DON'T KNOW**, [I'm] tired of this.
Participant 2		
8	**MULIH**, **MONGGO**	[Let's] **GO**, [Let's] **GO**, **EXCUSE ME** [Mrs.] **EXCUSE ME**.

Participant 1		
9	**WIS** kita **MULIH WAÉ YO**,	We are **DONE**, [let's] **JUST GO**
10	**MONGGO** capai *aku* (0.5)	**COME ON**, **EXCUSE** [me Mrs], *I'm* tired [of this]
Sacha		
11	oh **SAMPEAN IKI NGOLEKI** *kopor*	Oh, **YOU ARE LOOKING FOR** *a*
12	**TOH**, **KOPERÉ ONO NING**	*suitcase* **RIGHT**? **THE SUITCASE**
13	**KONO**	**OVER THERE**.
Participant 1		
14	wah oh bulé apa	Wow! What sort of white foreigner is this?
Participant 2		
15	ya ngomong kalau bisa ngomong jawa,	Yeah say so if you can speak Javanese,
16	ngomong	say so.
Participant 1		
17	ini <u>mah</u>, ini <u>mah</u>, bulé istrinya *pak* **LIK**	This is, this is, this white foreigner is our **YOUNGER UNCLE'S** wife.
Talk deleted		
Sacha		
18	**IKI OPO** (pointing to chocolate that	**WHAT IS THIS**?
19	Participant 1 wiped on her mouth)	
Participant 1		
20	**IKI OPO**, haha **IKI OPO**,	**THIS IS WHAT**? (Laughs). **WHAT IS**
21	**WIS PANGANÉ PANGANÉ**	**THIS ITS FOOD**, **ITS FOOD**.

TransTV, Acara Saatnya Kita Sahur, Saturday 23 August 2009, (3–4 AM)

The talk in Excerpt 2 continues to be framed as CONTACT TALK from line 11 onwards. For example, unfamiliarity between the two participants and Sacha is indexed on line 11 via Sacha's use of Javanese term of address, *sampean* "you", rather than a kin term plus name that is often used in interactions among familiars (e.g., Goebel 2007, 2010b, 2014, 2015, 2016). Such unfamiliarity solidifies on line 14 as Participant 1 wonders just what sort of "white foreigner" Sacha might be, while Participant 2 scolds Sacha for not letting them know that she could speak Javanese in the first place (lines 15–16). In other words, he is metapragmatically framing their CONTACT TALK as in Javanese. Note too, that while Participant's 1 talk on line 14 initially framed Sacha's talk as strange or non-normative, Participant 2's next turn on lines 15–16 suggests that noting that one can speak Javanese seems more important than the fact that Sacha can speak Javanese. In a sense, this sequence and their subsequent talk in Javanese helps to normativize the use of Javanese as a medium of CONTACT TALK. Its social value is emphasized by the fact that it is broadcast at all, and thus is institutionally authorized.

Excerpts 1 and 2 provided examples of where the ongoing activity is both metasemiotically and metapragmatically framed as one of contact between total strangers. These excerpts also provided discursive examples of talk in contact that was metapragmatically framed as situationally (in)appropriate, as well as belonging

to a particular named ethnic language. The last excerpt provides an example of MODELING CONTACT TALK in a comedic soap where the participants are not total strangers nor people who engage in habitual interaction. I draw material from an episode (*Banyak orderan banyak masalah* "plenty of orders plenty of problems") from the soap *Bukan Romeo Juliet* "It's not Romeo and Juliet", which was broadcast on ANTV. This soap is specifically framed as contact between those of Arab heritage and those of Chinese heritage. It is set in an urban neighborhood of Jakarta.

The talk in Excerpt 3 is between Sutini and Melani. Sutini owns a small coffee stall located in the neighborhood, while Melani has a romantic interest in the boy who lives next door (Alung). As with the previous excerpts, Javanese is in bold caps, ambiguous forms (i.e. Those that are both Indonesian and Javanese) are in italics, English is in upper case bold italics, and Indonesian is in plain font.

Excerpt 3 Modeling contact talk in an urban neighborhood

Melani		
1	***MORNING*** *mbak* sutini (while smiling)	***MORNING*** *Sister* Sutini.
Sutini		
2	(while smiling) e ***GOOD MORNING***,	Oh, ***GOOD MORNING***, um [you are]
3	(while pointing) um *mbak* melani kan	*Sister* Melani right?
Melani		
4	(while putting two thumbs up and	Yes.
5	smiling) betul	
Sutini		
6	lah, (while smiling) mesti ke sini cari	So, [you] must have come here looking
7	*mas* alung	for *Brother* Alung.
Melani		
8	iya dong (while smiling), habis *aku*	Of course. I miss [him] so much, you
9	kangen sih *mbak*	know, *Sister*.
Sutini		
10	(stops smiling), loh *mbak*, ***YOU*** kan udah	What Sister? ***YOU*** already know right,
11	tahu, kalau **MISALÉ** *mas* alung dah ada	that **FOR EXAMPLE** Brother Alung
12	***GIRLFRIEND***nya, nanti **MISALÉ**	already has a ***GIRLFRIEND***. Later if
13	rebut lagi kaya waktu itu **PIYÉ**	**FOR EXAMPLE**, [you both] fight again like before, **THEN WHAT**?
Melani		
14	(smile turns to sad face as she turns body	(Is represented as being upset about what
15	away from Sutini and sits down)	Sutini has said.)
Sutini		
16	(confused look) aduh *mbak*, maksud ***I***	Gee Sister, ***I*** didn't mean
17	***AM*** nggak gitu loh, a ndak usah	it like that. Um [you] don't need
Melani		
18	udah, ndak apa apa *mbak*, ndak apa apa	[It's] ok. [It's] ok, [it's] alright *Sister*, [it's] alright

ANTV, *Bukan Romeo Juliet*, Sunday 16 August 2009, (8–9 PM)

As with Excerpts 1 and 2, this talk is metasemiotically framed as contact through discursive work that helps to socially identify a participant. In this case, while Melani knows Sutini's name (line 1), Sutini is less sure about Melani's name and checks her memory through the use of *kan* "right" on line 3. While the linguistic forms that participants use are not named here, as in the last two excerpts, it is nevertheless striking that in the rest of their interaction both participants are represented as using and understanding forms stereotypically associated with English (e.g., lines 1–2, 10, 12, 16), and forms stereotypically associated with Javanese (bold caps) on lines 11–13. In other words, as with Excerpts 1 and 2, we can refer to this as a model of contact talk that is represented as habitual and thus normative, as well as one that is institutionally authorized.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn inspiration from invitations from sociolinguists to treat all contact as contact between strangers. In doing so, I have synthesized a broad range of scholarship that seeks to understand how and why particular semiotic constellations become recognized and socially valued, and how nation-building and market forces figure in this process. I was especially concerned with extending our conceptual tools for discussing these processes. While CONTACT REGISTER is one of them, I proposed the concept of MODELS OF CONTACT TALK to discuss a specific case found in one-to-many participation frameworks, namely television representations of contact. I was especially concerned with how reflexive commentaries helped to frame this talk as normative.

I pointed out that such representations were authorized by both nation-building and profit-seeking institutions. In the case of models of contact talk on Indonesian television, the extent to which the nation-state or commercial enterprises influenced these processes was dependent upon a whole host of other, co-occurring and mutually reinforcing processes. In comparing the modeling of contact talk in Excerpts 1–3 with reports from earlier times, it seems that there has been a sustained move from the nation-state having a monopoly over the authorization of models of contact to one where those involved in the creation and circulation of television content authorized competing models of contact talk. The uptake of these models of contact talk by other producers of television content have other consequences too. For example, while we can say that the modeling of contact talk models processes of emergent register formation, the imitation of such models across television programming and over time also contributes to a larger model of contact talk, one where using linguistic forms stereotypically associated with ethnic languages is normative.

In other words, medium alternation during contact is becoming a normative new register that is potentially recognizable as such by those who consume television programming. In the broader context of television producers seeking to align with the communicative practices of their audiences in order to continue to make a profit (Loven 2008), we can observe that such representations seem to be closer to what actually happens in contact in Indonesia (Goebel 2010b).

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9

LOCALIZING PERSON REFERENCE AMONG INDONESIAN YOUTH

Michael C. Ewing

Introduction

This study examines first- and second-person reference among young Indonesian speakers in the city of Bandung. Youth are currently a salient category in Indonesia (Parker and Nilan 2013), and the contemporary language of youth—often labeled *bahasa gaul* or 'sociable language'—has become the focus of both local popular commentary (BeritaSATU TV 2013; Januar 2014; Tasai 2006; see also discussion in Djenar this volume) and international academic research (Djenar and Ewing 2015; Djenar et al. 2018; Manns 2011; Smith-Hefner 2007; Tamtomo 2012). Localizing the language of youth is essential in understanding how young people employ language resources in the construction of social meanings (cf., Bucholz 2002; Manns 2011) and the city of Bandung is a productive site to do this. As the third largest city in Indonesia, a major university city and an important center for the creative industries, Bandung is home to a thriving youth culture. It is located about 150 km southeast of the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, and this proximity means Jakarta exerts a strong cultural influence on Bandung. At the same time, Bandung maintains a strong sense of independent identity, grounded in its position as the dominant city of the Sundanese ethno-linguistic region.

The linguistic complexity of Indonesia (Foulcher et al. 2012; Goebel 2015; Maier 1993; Manns et al. this volume) means that the rapidly changing language of youth displays features of hybridity that play a crucial role in the construction of identity through the local deployment of diverse language resources (cf. Pennycook 2010). In Bandung, Rostika (2009) surveyed language attitudes and usage among Sundanese speaking youth and found frequent use of Sundanese and Jakartan particles and grammatical forms when these young people were speaking Indonesian, which she linked to the production of relaxed informality. Such hybridity is also evident in the data examined here. I follow recently emerging

approaches in socio-cultural linguistics which view "languages" or "dialects" not as discrete bounded entities objectively existing in the real world, but rather as politically and socio-culturally conditioned ideological constructs (Blommaert 2010; Heller 2007; Jørgensen et al. 2011; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). Such constructs as "Indonesian" or "Sundanese" nonetheless have real-world significance for speakers, in no small part because ideologies associated with them infuse individual linguistic resources with important semiotic resonances. Therefore, rather than talking about an analysis of "Indonesian", I agree that it is, following Blommaert and Rampton (2011:5), "far more productive *analytically* to focus on the very variable ways in which individual linguistic features with identifiable social and cultural associations get clustered together whenever people communicate".

Person referring terms are an important linguistic resource, and like Indonesian speakers across the country, young people in Bandung access a range of pronouns, kinship terms and names for referring to self and other. In what follows, I first briefly review the concept of indexicality and outline how it is useful for understanding the kind of hybrid person reference practices found in the data. I then outline resources for person reference used by young Indonesian speakers in Bandung and explore ideologies of person reference as expressed by young language users themselves. Finally, I look at the use of person reference during spontaneous conversational interaction to show how young people deploy these resources for purposes of social positioning. Bandung's location as a regional hub sitting in the near periphery of the national capital is crucial in shaping how young people choose to accomplish person reference.

Indexing hubs and peripheries

Indexicality—"the linking of semiotic forms, including linguistic forms, to context-specific social meanings" (Bucholtz 2015:36)—rarely entails a one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning. It can be indirect and multiple. The distinction between direct and indirect indexicality was developed by Ochs (1992) in her discussion of language and gender. She shows that certain kinds of language associated with gendered subject positions do not in fact directly index gender. Rather they index stances, for example submissiveness or dominance, which may be stereotypically associated with gender in a given society and the language associated with these stances then indirectly indexes these socially constructed gender identities. Kiesling (2009:177) makes a further distinction between exterior indexicality "that is transportable from one speech event to another, and connects to social contexts that perdure from one speech event to another, or at least change very slowly" and interior indexicality which involves "indexical meaning created within, and particular to, the speech event". In the case of Ochs's (1992) discussion of gender indexicality, we see a flow from the interior indexicality of situated stances to an exterior indexicality of perduring gender stereotypes. Kiesling (2009) points out that meanings can also flow the other way as speakers access the semiotic resonances of exterior indexicality to enact

very specific in-the-moment stances and social actions. We will see flows from the external to the internal in the conversational data presented below, in which perduring associations with place and ethnicity are utilized for stancestaking in interaction.

Inoue (2002) points out that rather than being thought of as a natural evolution, movements between direct and indirect indexicality need to be seen as emerging from complex historic contexts. In the case of person reference analyzed in this chapter, usage by participants needs to be viewed in the context of shifting social and political attitudes towards language and languages in Indonesia. Maier (1993), building on Bakhtin (1981), has explored the heteroglossic linguistic ecology of the Indonesian archipelago with its multitude of open and fluid ways of speaking. He shows how during the later Dutch colonial project and through the intense nation-building endeavors of the nationalist, post-independence and Suharto New Order periods, this complex and dynamic linguistic landscape was domesticated into a state-sanctioned order of bounded languages—a situation Meir describes as polyglossic. As discussed by Manns et al. (this volume), the post–New Order era has seen a return towards a more heteroglossic situation in Indonesia, where boundaries are blurred and regularly crossed between standard and colloquial Indonesian and between Indonesian and named regional languages such as Sundanese (see also Djenar and Ewing 2015). At the same time, ideologies of standard Indonesian and bounded regional languages persist and inform semiotic practice throughout Indonesia. It is in such a context that the heteroglossic practices of the young people analyzed here need to be framed.

Much of Indonesia's heteroglossia has been conceptualized around geographic hubs and peripheries (Goebel et al. This volume). At the same time, we should not think of these hubs and peripheries as independent and static entities. These locales are intimately connected by flows—what Heller et al. (2015:1–9) discuss in terms of mutually constitutive mobilities and moorings or routes and roots. In the case of the young Indonesian participants discussed in this chapter, these flows include people moving between Jakarta and Bandung and learning how to adapt as Sundanese in Jakarta or as Jakartans in Bandung, all the while also maintaining their identities a young Indonesians. Semiotic resources (including pronouns) are also part of these flows, being disseminated through old and new media. This is certainly the case with Jakartan pronouns being widely known throughout the archipelago (e.g., Manns 2014). It also entails localized semiotic resources being disseminated to the wider Indonesian archipelago, for example through the popularization of "ethnic" tropes for national consumptions (e.g., Goebel 2013; Zimmer 2000). Finally, shift also occurs in the status of hubs and peripheries. While Bandung can be seen as peripheral to Jakarta on the Indonesian stage, it is a hub for the construction of contemporary Sundanese identities relative to imagined peripheral rural hinterlands (cf., the epithet *kampungan* 'country bumpkin' mentioned later in this chapter).

The indexical affordances of personal pronouns derive in part from the fact that they are deictic forms which have the duplex quality of combining

semantic reference, for example, indicating speaker and addressee, with pragmatic linkage to the actual moment of speaking, for example, to whoever is occupying the shifting roles of speaker or addressee at any given moment of interaction (Silverstein 1976). Agha (2007) refers to this quality of personal pronouns as participant deixis. In addition, many languages of the world have different forms of person references that do not indicate different semantic or pragmatic meanings, but rather index non-referential, social aspects of the speaker, the address or the relationship that holds between them. Agha (2007) calls this aspect of person referring terms social indexicality. As we will see later in this chapter, in using person referring terms, multiple social indexicalities can be accessed and utilized by speakers in the process of negotiating meanings and alignments in fact-to-face interaction.

Resources and attitudes

Part of the indexical complexity of interaction in Indonesian arises from the range of resources for person reference that Indonesian speakers have access to, and the complex semiotics associated with these resources (Ewing 2005; Sneddon et al. 2010). Like many languages of Southeast Asia, Indonesian has an open system of self- and addressee-reference (Enfield 2007; Thomason and Everett 2001), meaning that person referring resources are readily adopted from other languages and that non-pronominal forms such as proper names and kinship terms are commonly used for self- and addressee-reference. Additionally, ellipsis is by far the most common strategy in Indonesian for tracking self and addressee in conversation (Ewing 2019); however, ellipsis is beyond the scope of the current study. The existence of multiple pronominal forms has long been noted, but as Djenar (2014) points out, earlier accounts claimed that choice of terms was dependent on statically conceived demographic characteristics such as age, sex, or first language. More recently, researchers have begun to recognize the fluidity with which speakers deploy person reference. Sneddon (2006), writing about Jakartan Indonesian, notes that speakers with similar backgrounds, and even a single speaker in a single speech event, will use widely different pronouns in a seemingly "random" manner. However, when examined more closely, motivations for pronominal choices begin to appear. Englebretson (2007) analyzes pronouns as markers of stance, noting for Indonesian speakers in Yogyakarta, pronoun choice "is dynamic, takes place at the local level of discourse, and is used in stancetaking to index the speaker's construction and expression of identities" (2007:78). Manns (2011) reaches similar conclusions for Indonesian speakers in Malang. Djenar (2014), using Manning's (2001) notion of perduring social relations to examine youth fiction, demonstrates that situationally motivated shifts in pronoun usage also draw on perduring meanings linked to both social and spatial deixis, such as the center-periphery contrast between Jakarta and the regions.

The interplay between perduring social-semiotic resonances of pronouns and the locally contingent work of stance and identity construction through interaction

TABLE 9.1 Frequency of first-person reference types in corpus

Reference type	*Associated social semiotics*	*n*	*%*
Aku	Indonesian, familiar (romantic)	231	59.8
gua / gue	Jakartan, familiar (coarse)	84	21.8
Saya	Indonesian, formal	29	7.5
Urang	Sundanese, familiar	14	3.6
Aing	Sundanese, coarse	13	3.4
NAME	familiar	11	2.8
Abdi	Sundanese, polite	2	0.5
TITLE	familiar	2	0.5
Total		**386**	**100.0**

is also a theme emerging from Bandung data analyzed in this chapter. These data are from a corpus comprising recordings and transcripts of naturally occurring conversations among young Indonesian adults (aged 18–25 years) made in Bandung in early 2014. Eight recordings have been used for this study, comprising three hours of talk. The conversations involve from two to nine speakers and include all-female and mixed female-male groups. At the same time, I conducted four focus groups with university students also aged 18–25, about equally distributed between men and women. The discussions ranged around topics of youth, youth identity and language perceptions.

The linguistic resources for self- and addressee-reference used by young people in the corpus include pronouns associated with formal and familiar registers of standard Indonesian, those associated with colloquial Jakartan Indonesian and Sundanese pronouns, including familiar, coarse and polite forms. Personal names are also used for first- and second-person reference. In the case of second-person reference, personal names are sometimes combined with a kinship-based title, or occasionally, just the kinship term is used without name. Table 9.1 provides an overview of first-person reference use in the corpus, indicating raw frequency and percentage for different reference types. Table 9.2 provides this information for second-person reference types.

In these tables, the characterizations under the column heading "Associated social semiotics" are meant to be heuristic and reflect social meanings stereotypically associated with these forms by speakers, as revealed in the focus group discussions reported below. The social meanings and intertextual resonances of these different reference types, however, are much more complex than a simple label can express. As Agha (2007:281) warns us in his discussion of social indexicality, labels like these should not be misconstrued as "the invariant or inherent meanings of lexemes" nor as constraints on how such lexemes are used. Rather, social indexical meaning arises intersubjectively in actual contexts of use through both the perduring significances that participants bring to the interaction, as well as by the moment-to-moment interactional needs and construals of speech participants.

TABLE 9.2 Frequency of second-person reference types in corpus

Reference type	*Associated social semiotics*	*N*	*%*
Kamu	Indonesian, familiar (romantic)	89	53.3
lu / lo	Jakartan, familiar (coarse)	28	16.8
NAME	familiar	16	9.6
TITLE + NAME	familiar, respectful	15	9.0
Maneh	Sundanese, familiar	8	4.8
Sia	Sundanese, coarse	6	3.6
TITLE	familiar, respectful	4	2.4
Anjeun	Sundanese, polite	1	0.6
Total		**167**	**100.0**

The summary of focus group discussions and explication of examples from the conversational data that are presented in the remainder of this chapter aim to illustrate some of this complexity.

The focus group participants initially discussed youth language in general. They described their speech style as *biasa saja* 'just normal', *nggak terlalu formal* 'not too formal' or *santai banget* 'really relaxed'. They also pointed out that unlike (their perceptions of) the practices of their parents' generation, today's youth are more *spontan* 'spontaneous' and even *keceplosan* 'blurting out' with their language. For them, this includes using informal language in contexts where formal language might be prescriptively expected. It also includes the notion of mixing languages. One participant said, "*kita ngomongnya campur-campur, kadang bahasa Indonesia, kadang bahasa Sunda, kadang juga disatuin*" (our speech is all mixed, sometimes Indonesian, sometimes Sundanese, sometimes even combined together).

The participants were also happy to discuss the social connotations of pronominal usage in great detail, consistent with the pragmatic salience of pronouns noted by Errington (1985). Participants regularly labeled usage in terms of matched first- and second-person pairs: *aku-kamu*, *gua-lu*, *urang-maneh* and so forth. They all reported that for young people in Bandung *aku-kamu* is the most commonly used pair and their interest and commentary was mainly directed to the use of more marked *gua-lu*. The consensus was that use of *gua-lu* is strongly associated with Jakarta and generally not appropriate in Bandung: using *gua-lu* is *angkuh* 'haughty' and *sombong* 'arrogant'. Not surprisingly, participants originally from Jakarta said that in Jakarta they use *gua-lu* the most often. For them *aku-kamu* could be seen either as distancing or, in specific contexts, as very intimate. The latter association is consistent with Djenar's (2014) finding that in novels, characters from Jakarta who become romantically involved often switch from *gua-lu* to *aku-kamu*. One female Jakartan participant said that because of this association with intimacy, even in Bandung she feels uncomfortable using *aku* with male interlocutors.

For speakers from Bandung, people who use *gua-lu* are perceived as *nggak menyatu* 'not integrating' and it was pointed out several times that people should *menysesuaikan tempatnya* 'adjust to the place where they are'. Such comments reveal

the concern speakers have with locality, flows between places, and the linking of pronominal usage with localized identity. One Bandung person reported that when he used *aku* in Jakarta he was told it was *kaku* 'stiff, awkward' and he should use *gue*. Another participant, who came to Bandung from Jakarta, said he felt he could not use *gua-lu* but did not know the Sundanese pronouns, so he started using *aku-kamu*. Similar to speakers from Malang (Manns 2011), these Bandung speakers said that if they did use *gua-lu*, it would be for humorous effect. It is clear that for speakers from Bandung—similar to the findings of Englebretson (2007) for Yogyakarta and Manns (2011) for Malang—*gua-lu* usage retains a very strong association with Jakarta and often carries meanings of toughness, being outspoken or associated with (a possibly exaggerated or false) sophistication. Focus group participants' assertion that *aku-kamu* is the most common, even the default, pronominal pair used by young speakers in Bandung is borne out by the frequency results in Table 9.1, where nearly 60 percent of first-person references use *aku* and more than 50 percent of second-person references use *kamu*. Interestingly, this contrasts markedly from perceptions of Bandung reported from Malang, where Bandung speakers are lumped together with Jakartans and assumed to use *gua-lu* (Manns 2011:137, 276). In the following section, I examine how the ideologies around pronoun use discussed here play out in conversational interaction. This analysis will highlight the multiple indexicalities that pronouns can have as speakers access shifting semiotic resonances associated with locally rooted practice, other urban hubs, and pan-national identities.

Person reference in conversational interaction

I have chosen excerpts from three conversations in the corpus to illustrate a number of key points. In "Blackout" we see the default use of *aku-kamu* contrasted with Sundanese pronouns used to index solidarity and personal perspective. "Chicken Foot Soup" illustrates the use of names and ethnolocal kinship terms for reference to self and addressee as well as formal Indonesian *saya* '1s', options receiving only passing mention in the focus group discussions. Finally, "Cream Soup" looks at a particularly performative speaker who uses a wide range of person reference terms.

The conversation "Blackout" exemplifies the prevalent use of *aku-kamu* by young Bandung speakers of Indonesian and also demonstrates how the use of Sundanese pronouns can accomplish important interactional work by accessing external indexicality for immediate in internal purposes. The primary speakers, Salma and Sita, women in their early twenties, almost always use *aku-kamu* with each other. For Salma, 95% of her first-person reference is *aku*, while for Sita it is 67%. Both women use *kamu* exclusively for second-person reference. This default usage is illustrated in the first four lines of (1). In addition, the common use of ellipsis is illustrated in line 2 where the predicate *marah-marah* 'get/be angry' does not have an explicit subject, but the subject can be clearly understood from context to be second person.

Excerpt 1 Blackout 189–205[1]

1	Salma:	*Sebenarnya*	*kenapa*	*gitu,*			
		actually	why	like that			
2		*marah-marah*	*ke*	***aku****?*			
		angry-REDUP	to	**1s**			
		'So why is it (you)'re all mad at me?					
3	Sita:	*Soal-nya,*					
		problem-DEF					
4		***kamu****-nya*	*nggak*	*main*	*teru=s.*		
		2s- DEF	NEG	play	continue		
5		.. *Main-nya*	*sama*	*Kang*	*Agoy*	*aja*	*terus.*
		play-DEF	with	older brother	Agoy	just	continue
		'The problem is you don't hang out at all. (You)'re always just hanging out with Kang[2] Agoy.'					
6	Salma:	*Ya*	*udah,*				
		Yes	Already				
7		*hari*	*Ini*	*main.*			
		Day	this	play			
		'Oh alright, (I)'ll hang out today.'					
8	Sita:	…	*Yuk?*				
			okay				
			'Okay?'				
9	Salma:	..	*Yuk.*				
			okay				
			'Okay.'				
10	Sita:	..	*Drama*	*ari*	***maneh****.*		
			drama	if.SUN	**2s.sun**		
		'You've got drama [club]?'					
11	Salma:	..	*Ya,*				
			yes				
12		*pulang*	*drama.*				
		return.home	drama				
		'Yes [we'll hang out after I] come back from drama [club].'					
13	Sita:	..	*Yuk.*				
			okay				
			'Okay.'				
14	Salma:	..	*Yuk.*				
			okay				
			'Okay.'				

In line 10 of example (1), Sita uses the familiar Sundanese second-person pronoun *maneh*. Use of a non-default pronoun can alert interlocutors that something different is being done (Stivers et al. 2007). To understand what that "something

different" is, we can examine what social actions are being undertaken at this point in the interaction. Salma asks why Sita is mad at her (lines 1–2), thus setting up a low-level disalignment between the friends. According to Sita, Salma has been spending too much time with her male friend, Agoy, and so is not hanging out with her other friends (lines 3–5). Salma tries to make amends by saying she will do something with Sita. Sita accepts Salma's offer and uses the Sundanese *maneh* '2s' when negotiating a time to meet. This forms part of a process of realignment between the friends, and the resonance of locality and shared ethnicity evoked by the use of Sundanese here is consistent with the social action being undertaken. This process of realignment is further amplified by the repeated, reciprocal use of colloquial *yuk* 'HORT' in lines 8–9 and 13–14. Tannen (2007:61–62) points out repetition can be a powerful way to signal interpersonal involvement, and here it is used to indicated shared agreement after a moment of disalignment.

In example (2), also from Blackout, Sita uses both Indonesian *aku* and the familiar Sundanese first-person pronoun *urang* to refer to herself. The topic is the upcoming general election and the participants have been discussing how they will decide whom to vote for.

Excerpt 2 Blackout 332–337

1	Sita:	*Pokok-nya,*			
		point-DEF			
2		***aku***	*mah,*		
		1s	part.SUN		
3		*yang*	*paling*	*panjang*	*gelar-nya,*
		REL	most	long	title-DEF
4		***aku***	*coblos*	*we,*	
		1s	vote	just.SUN	
5	..	*kumaha*	***urang***	*we.*	
		how.SUN	**1s.SUN**	just.SUN	

'The thing is, as for me, I just choose the one who has the longest titles, just however I feel.'

The excerpt in (2) comprises a single turn by Sita and contains a dense clustering of three explicit first-person references—an unusual occurrence given the high frequency of ellipsis in Indonesian conversation (Ewing 2019). Here Sita explains she just goes for the candidate with the longest title. The first two pronominal tokens are default *aku*. The first of these is marked with the Sundanese contrastive topic particle *mah*, indicating she is talking about her actions in (presupposed) contrast with the actions of others. The second use of *aku* occurs when she mentions her action, the physical act of puncturing (*coblos*) the ballot paper to vote. When she expresses the affective motivation driving her choice—that she will just do whatever comes to mind at the moment of voting—she uses a Sundanese phrase

with the pronoun *urang*. This shift from public language—Indonesian—to private language—Sundanese—to express inner thoughts, feelings or reactions, is reminiscent of Errington's (1998) discussion of shifting between Indonesian and Javanese, in which Javanese can be used to personalize the modeling of subjective states relative to the more objectivizing qualities of Indonesian.

Examples (3)–(7) are from "Chicken Foot Soup", a conversation between five female friends, all students at the same university, who are having lunch in a food court. They are discussing, among other topics, what they want to order. These examples contrast the use of first-person pronouns *aku* (more familiar) and *saya* (more formal), along with use of personal names for self-reference. In this conversation, about 40 percent of self-reference is done with *aku*, another 40 percent with first name and the remaining 20 percent with *saya*. In (3), both Hana and Ratih use *aku* for self-reference.

Excerpt 3 Chicken Foot Soup 9–26

1	Hana:	***Aku***	*teh*	*belum*	*makan*	*nasi=.*
		1s	PART.SUN	not.yet	Eat	Rice
2		*Jadi,*				
		so				
3		..	*eh*	*yang*	*ga*	*nasi,*
			uh	REL	NEG	rice
4		***aku***	..	*eliminasi.*		
		1s		Elimination		

'I haven't eaten rice yet. So I'll eliminate anything without rice.'

5	Ratih:	…	*Minum*	*apa*	*bro*[3]?
			drink	what	VOC

'What are (you) going to drink *bro*?'

6	Aina:	…	***Aku***	*juga*	*mau*	*nasi*	*ah,*
			1s	also	want	rice	PART
7		..	*Sop*	*ceker.*			
			soup	chicken.foot			

'Gosh I want rice too. Chicken foot soup.'

8	Ratih:	…	*Boleh*	*bro.*
			can	VOC

'Ok *bro*.'

The use of name for first-person reference is illustrated in (4).

Excerpt 4 Chicken Foot Soup 243

Rini:	***Rini***	*teh*	*Suka*	*kangkung*	*Teh*	*Hana.*
	Rini	PART.SUN	Like	water.spinach	older.sister.SUN	Hana

'I like water spinach *Teh* Hani.' [lit: 'Rini likes water spinach *Teh* Hani.']

Particularly characteristic of this conversation is the use name, kin title or both for all cases of explicit addressee reference. The Sundanese title for older sister, *Teh* is used with name in almost 70 percent of cases of explicit addressee reference, just the title (usually the full form *Teteh*) in 10 percent of cases and just name in the remaining 20 percent. In general, these women use *Teteh* or *Teh* with name when addressing an older female friend and just the name when speaking to someone younger. This is illustrated in (5), where Rini is the youngest member of the group and (6) where Lela is the oldest.

Excerpt 5 Chicken Foot Soup 51

Rini:	***Teh***	***Hana***	*mah*	*udah*	*lulus*	*yah?*
	older.sister.sun	**Hani**	PART.SUN	already	pass	Yeah

'You've already passed right? [lit: '*Teh* Hana has already passed right?']

Excerpt 6 Chicken Foot Soup 167

Lela:	***Aina***	*Yang*	*kemarin*	*makan*	*apa?*
	Aina	REL	yesterday	eat	what

'What did you eat yesterday?' [lit: 'What did Aina eat yesterday?']

Finally, tokens of formal Indonesian *saya* '1S' occur more often in this conversation than others in the corpus. Its use is usually stylized, when evoking someone else's voice or exaggerating the formality of what is said for humorous effect. The latter is illustrated by (7). The speakers had been discussing an academic topic, which facilitated the use of more formal grammatical structures and lexicon. When Rini—who elsewhere uses her name for self-reference, as in example (4)—brings the topic back choosing what to order, she continues in this academic mode, using formal clause structure and formal, distancing *saya*. This formality is in incongruous with the here-and-now, mundane discussion of ordering food and the humor of this incongruity is highlighted by Rini's laughing voice at the beginning of her statement and exaggerated lengthening of the final syllable in *makan* 'eat', all marking a ludic stance.

Excerpt 7 Chicken Foot Soup 387

Rini:	<@	***Saya***	*belum*	*menemukan*	*apa*	@>	*yang*	*mau*	***saya***	*maka=n.*
		1s	not.yet	MEN-meet-APPL	what		REL	want	**1s**	Eat

'I have not yet discovered what it is I want to eat.'

The speakers in this conversation can be considered more conservative than many others in the corpus. They come from a university sometimes stereotyped as having a '*kampungan*' (less than sophisticated) reputation and they tend to be conservatively dressed. This may correspond with their use of Sundanese kinship terms and avoidance of *kamu* '2S'. It is also interesting that these women move towards more formal language for humor, while many of the other speakers in this corpus move

towards coarseness for humor, as illustrated in the next section. It is through such constellations of person referring strategies that situated identities arise, embodied through interaction and supported by other semiotic markers.

The third set of excerpts are from the conversation titled here "Cream Soup". In this conversation, three students at a technical college (two female, one male) discuss a marketing assignment in which they plan to sell cream soup. The lengthy discussion, partially reproduced in the excerpts (8)–(10b), takes place in an open study space on campus and as many as six other students temporarily join the conversation. The male member of the trio, Bayu, uses the greatest variety of different reference terms of anyone in the corpus. While he is primarily an *aku-kamu* user, he uses *aku* in only 50 percent of self-references. The remaining 50 percent include Jakartan *gua* and the Sundanese first-person pronouns, *aing* (coarse), *urang* (neutral) and *abdi* (refined). The following discussion illustrate how Bayu accesses this repertoire of Indonesian and Sundanese pronouns with their perduring indexical meanings in order to take highly performative and localized affective stances.

In the excerpt in (8), when Bayu uses *gua* '1s', it is clearly for humorous effect. Alma corrects Bayu's mistaken suggestion about how to cook macaroni, displaying a slightly humorous stance with exaggerated lengthening on final syllables of intonation units and the use of the vocative *nak* 'child', not normally used between university friends. Bayu's response raises the humor level with an exaggerated imitation of a Betawi (local Jakarta) accent when saying he has no culinary skills. The use of Jakartan *gua* is an integral part of this humor.

Excerpt 8 Cream Soup 441–446

1	Alma:	*Makroni*	*teh*	*direndem*	*dulu=,*
		macaroni	DEF.SUN	DI-soak	first
2		*baru*	*direbu=s.*		
		only then	DI-boil		
3		*Na=k.*			
		Child			
		'The macaroni should be soaked first and only then boiled, son.'			
4	Bayu:	*Ma'ap*	*deh,*		
		sorry	PART.JKT		
5		***gua***	*nggak*	*tahu=,*	
		1s.JKT	NEG	Know	
6		***gua***	*bukan*	*tukang*	*peda=.*
		1s.JKT	NEG	peddler	salt fish
		'I'm so sorry, I didn't know, I'm not a salt fish peddler.'			

Examples (9a)–(9d) are from an extended sequence as a friend named Dian passes by while Bayu, Asmita and Alma are discussing their plans to sell cream soup. In (9a) Bayu calls out to Dian, asking whether she would buy their soup if they go into business.

Excerpt 9a Cream Soup 735–736

5	Bayu:	..	*Dian*	***gue***	*pangjualkeun,*
			Dian	**1s.JKT**	be.in.business.SUN
6		*Sok*		***lu***	*makan*	*kagak?*
		HORT.SUN		**2s.JKT**	Eat	NEG

'Dian if I go into business, come on will you eat some or not?

Bayu primarily uses *aku-kamu* with the main interlocutors, but his call to Dian uses Jakartan *gua-lu*. This evokes a strongly assertive stance, consistent with the Sundanese familiar hortative *sok*, compressed grammatical structure and blunt questioning style. After Dian answers she can't say because she doesn't know whether the soup is any good, Bayu further pushes her in (9b) using Jakartan *gua* while reminding her he has helped with her graphic design assignment.

Excerpt 9b Cream Soup 742–743

12	Bayu:	***Gua***	*ngebantuin*	*Gamdes*	*lho*	*ni=h.*
		1s.JKT	N-help-APPL.JKT	graphic-design	PART	this
13		…	*Beli*	*lah.*		
			buy	IMP		

'I'm helping with the Graphic Design [assignment] right. Buy some.'

At the point Dian responds (9c), she and Bayu are using almost entirely Sundanese resources. Indeed Dian uses coarse first person *aing*—usage that was almost exclusively associated with young men by focus group participants—saying she will be held responsible for the quality of Bayu's work. Bayu ignores this, making a self-deprecating response to Alma, softened by beginning with the familiar (but not coarse) Sundanese *urang* in an otherwise entirely Indonesian clause. By the time the discussion has returned to the project (9d), Bayu again uses *aku*. Throughout this example, the modulation between Indonesian and Sundanese incrementally builds and recedes as attention shifts between interlocutors, stances and topics.

Excerpt 9c Cream Soup 752–757

22	Alma:	*Emang*	*bagus*	*gitu?*		
		indeed	good	like that		
23	Dian:	*Ke*	***aing***	*di=*	..	*titah*
		later.SUN	**1s.SUN**	DI.SUN/IND		order.SUN
		mempertanggung-[jawabkeun			*kan],*	
		MEN-responsible-APPL.SUN			PART	
24	Bayu:	*[ulah*	*gitu*	*Alma*	*mah].*	
		NEG.HORT.SUN	like that	Alma	PART.SUN	

'I'm going to have to be responsible [for it] you know.'

'Don't be like that Alma.'

25 X: .. *bingung.*
Confused
'Confused.'

26 Bayu: … *Nggak* *deng.*
NEG PART.GAUL
'No it's not.'

27 ***Urang*** .. *udah* *nggak* *jago* *gambar.*
1s.SUN already NEG champion.SUN/IND draw.SUN/IND
'I'm not any good at drawing.'

Excerpt 9d Cream Soup 771–773

41 Asmita: .. *survai* *dulu?*
survey First
'Will (we) do a survey first?'

42 Bayu: ***Aku*** *mah* *emang* *udah.*
1s PART.SUN indeed already
'For me, that's it?'

43 Asmita: *Udah* *di-approve* *gitu,*
already DI-approve.ENG like.that
'Has it already been approved,'

In example (10a) and (10b) Banyu is telling Asimata and Alma about some *bakso* 'meatball soup' kiosks in one area of Bandung, claiming Balong Gede is the best.

Excerpt 10a Cream Soup 1177–1180

1 Bayu: .. *Yang* *paling* *enak* *tuh* *Balong* *Gede.*
REL most delicious that Balong Gede

2 … ***Lu*** *udah* *pernah* *nyobain* *belum?*
2.JKT already ever N-try-APPL not.yet
'The best is Balong Gede. Have you ever tried (it) yet or not?'

3 Alma: *Apa?*
what
'What?'

4 Bayu: .. *Jadi* *kalau* *misalnya* ***kamu*** *ke* *alun-alun=.*
so if example.DEF **2s** to city.square
'So if for example you go to the city square.'

In (10a) when Bayu asks Asmita if she has tried Balong Gede, Bayu uses Jakartan *lu* '2s' combined with blunt question structure similar to that in (9a). At this point in the conversation Bayu controls the direction of talk and his use of *lu* adds to the performativity of his question. When Bayu uses *kamu* in his next line, the shift corresponds with a shift in footing (Goffman 1981), marked by shift from a personal reading of second-person reference to a generic reading as he explains how to find Balong Gede. This continues for several lines and includes three generic instances

of *kamu*. As Bayu homes in on Balong Gede, his friends realize he is describing a kiosk known to sell pork, as expressed in example (10b).

Excerpt 10b Cream Soup 1209–1217

32	Alma:	*Itu*	*Kan*	*babi*	*Bayu.*
		that	Part	pork	Bayu
		'That's pork Bayu.'			
33	Asmita:	…	<@	*Bayu*	*tuh,*
				Bayu	that
34		*babi=*	*[makanannya*	@>.	
		pork	food-DEF		
		'Bayu eats pork.' (laughing)			
35		@@@]			
36	Alma:	[@@@]			
37	Bayu:	[[*Tahu*	*dari*	*mana*	***kamu***]]?
		know	from	Where	**2s**
		'Where do you know that from [that Balong Gede *bakso* is pork]?'			
38	Alma:	[[@@@]]			
39	Asmita:	[[@]]			
40		<@	*Iya*	*beneran*	@>.
			yes	true	
		'It's true.' (laughing)			
41	Bayu:	*Nggak=*.			
		No			
		'No.'			

These young people are Muslim and the friends begin to laugh at Bayu's ignorance. Bayu demands to know how they know it is pork, using *kamu*—no longer with a generic reading but as direct personal reference. Having been confronted with the possibility that he had eaten pork (and liked it), Bayu is on the defensive. His question in line 37 no longer has the bravado of his early question in line 4. In this context, he falls back on his default addressee reference term *kamu*. His dismay at the thought he might have eaten pork, and his attempt to deny this, mean he can no longer muster to what it takes to achieve the stylizing effects of deploying of *lu*.

Throughout the excerpts from the "Cream Soup" conversation, Bayu's deployment of *lu* and *kamu* illustrates how indexical significance can arise from localized moments of interaction. We also see how the quickly changing dynamics of conversation can mean equally quickly changing semiotic resonances of person reference, as Bayu falls back on his default resources when put on the defensive. This can be read as reinforcing his core non-Jakartan—that is Bandung—identity, despite his frequent use of language associated with the capital. In this way, we see the

meaning of the pronouns arising in part from the perduring semiotic resonance of their perceived provenance, but equally as arising out of their moment-by-moment deployment by interlocutors.

Conclusion

These examples have illustrated how young people in Bandung use Indonesian, Jakartan and Sundanese resources for self- and addressee-reference. As demonstrated by the ideologies expressed by speakers about pronominal usage, the perduring meaning associated with these terms reflect the speakers' location in Bandung, a regional hub sitting in the (near) periphery of the national hub, Jakarta. These meanings in turn inform the deployment of person reference in conversation, where their immediate meaning and contribution to the construction of stance flexibly emerge from the shifting social needs of face-to-face interaction. These examples then speak to the ongoing flows of indexicality that emerge as young people interact within the complex social and physical landscape of contemporary Indonesian.

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Notes

1 See Appendix for transcription and glossing conventions.
2 Kinship terms as titles have been included as "foreign" words in English free translations of examples. This is intended to maintain the "feel" of the Indonesian original without causing the idiomatic awkwardness that would arise from using *brother* or *sister* in these contexts in English.
3 The vocative *bro* derives from English 'bro' (brother) and has undergone localization processes (cf., Holland 2002; Kachru 2005) whereby it is now used among young Indonesian speakers to address both females and males. For this reason I treat it as an Indonesian, rather than English, vocative. For an interactional analysis of vocative use in Indonesian see Ewing and Djenar (2019).

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Appendix: Transcription and glossing conventions

Transcription conventions (following Du Bois et al. 1993)

Asmita:	speaker attribution
line break	separate line used for each complete or truncated intonation unit
.	final pitch contour
,	continuing pitch contour
?	appeal pitch contour
..	short pause
…	long pause
=	lengthening of preceding segment
[]	speaker overlap
@	pulse of laughter
<@ @>	laughing voice quality

Glossing conventions

1S	first person singular
2S	second person singular
APPL	applicative suffix
DEF	definite enclitic
DI	*di-* P-trigger verbal prefix
EMPH	emphatic
ENG	English
GAUL	*Gaul*-style slang
HES	hesitation
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
IND	Indonesian
JKT	Jakartan Indonesian
MEN	*meN-* verbal prefix
N	nasal verbal prefix
NEG	negative

PART	discourse particle
REDUP	reduplication
REL	relative clause marker
SI	personal article
SUN	Sundanese
SURP	surprise particle
VOC	vocative

10

REVALUING PAPUAN MALAY

Izak Morin[1] and Zane Goebel

Introduction

As pointed out in the introductory chapter (this volume), within linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics, Bourdieu's (1991) ideas about the links between social value and language have been vigorously explored in the last decade or so (Agha 2007; Goebel 2015; Heller et al. 2015; Heller and Duchêne 2012; Kelly-Holmes 2016). This chapter takes inspiration from this work to consider how different regimes contributed to the valuation of Papuan Malay (PM) in Papua; Indonesia's most eastern territory. Our primary tools for thinking about these processes will be ideas about how authorized one-to-many participation frameworks, such as schooling, television, radio, act as "institutions of replication" (Agha 2004:27), and figure in valuation processes from the nineteenth century onwards; that is, enregisterment (Agha 2007).

The second idea we re-use is Agha's (2007) ideas about how commentaries frame the value of social practice including language practice. In our case, we argue that the very fact that fragments of PM are mediated in a number of new social domains represents a type of metasemiotic commentary. In other words, authorizing the use of PM fragments in these domains via these mediums values the content. The third related idea is drawn from work on the commodification of language (Heller et al. 2015; Heller and Duchêne 2012; Kelly-Holmes 2016), whereby fragments of language or language practices have been used to extract profits in all sorts of markets, including Indonesia (Goebel 2015). In the case at hand, we will examine how film and broadcast media have used fragments of PM to select a particular audience, namely those that recognize them (Agha 2007; Blommaert 2013). In line with Blommaert (2013), we refer to this as "indexical selectivity". The final idea that we draw upon is the notion that once particular semiotic configurations are authorized and recirculated via one-to-many participation frameworks they

engender recognition and commentary, often beyond a group who would normally be associated with the use of these forms. Following Goebel (2015), we refer to this practice as "knowledging".

We start by surveying the historical records about the emergence of PM as a contact register amongst traders and slaves, before then looking at how the entry of Christian missionaries and subsequently the Dutch contributed to the enregisterment of both Standard Malay (SM) and Papuan Malay (PM). We then explore what happens to PM when Indonesia annexes Tanah Papua. Essentially, we see a devaluation of both SM and PM and their replacement by Indonesian (BI). This, however, is not the end of our story. Another regime change and a raft of new laws in the early 2000s engendered a revaluation of PM, which continues to date.

Papuan Malays as contact registers

This section examines scholarship on early contact in the Indonesian archipelago and relates it to the formation of multiple contact registers that, as we point out in the following section, became simplified into what is now known as Papuan Malay. The main point is that in some cases contact can engender some form of simplification in other social domains, dependent in part on the regime of evaluation currently in play in that social domain. Papua or Tanah Papua "the land of Papua" as it is locally known refers to West Papua a province of Indonesia. The descriptor "West" indicates that Papua covers the western part of New Guinea Island, whose eastern part is the independent state of Papua New Guinea. In recent history, Papua was divided into two provinces—*Provinsi Papua* (Papua Province) to the east in 2001 and *Provinsi Papua Barat* (West Papua Province) to the west in 2003. They are located in the easternmost part of Indonesia. Both of these provinces have, since the late 1960s received significant numbers of economic and other migrants which has changed the demographic and religious profile of these provinces from barely any non-Papuans or Muslims to over 35 percent of the population in general and nearly 70 percent of the population in the cities (Chauvel 2008). Nowadays, Papuans use *Tanah Papua* to refer to both provinces because this term has long been used in two inspirational songs *Hai, Tanahku Papua* "O, My Land of Papua" composed in 1930 by a Dutch reverend and anthropologist Izaak Samuel Kijne, and *Tanah Papua* "Land of Papua" composed in 1985 by Papuan teacher and singer Yance Rumbino (see Map 10.1).

PM is a mixture of Papuan languages and Malay. The label "Papuan languages" refers to about 275 Austronesian and Non-Austronesian languages (SIL International 2018). The label "Malay" refers to trading Malay and Standard Malay (SM). The former is "Bazaar Malay or Low Malay" (Sneddon 2003:42) used in commercial encounters before Protestant and Catholic missionaries introduced SM in the Bible in 1855 and 1895 respectively. Standard Malay refers to the high Malay—"the literary variety that was developed in the royal court of Riau Johor or known as Riau-Johor Malay" (Sneddon 2003:84)—that was used in the Bible translation by Leydekker and Werndly in 1731 and in Werndly's Malay grammar in 1736 (Sneddon 2003:85).

MAP 10.1 Tanah Papua

Source: Mandavi, 2019, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=2169414.

Malay is a member of the Austronesian language family. It was first spoken by people from east and southeast Sumatera and from nearby islands before commercial activities helped to spread it to the Malay Peninsula and the coastal areas of Borneo (Sneddon 2003:7). The position of the Sumatran seafarers and traders in the Strait of Malacca allowed them to control trading activities and during contact with merchants and seamen from India, China, Persia and Arabia, Malay language was used as their means of communication. The trading posts in this strait were centers in which people speaking different varieties of Malay and foreign languages began to mix, creating a trading register of sorts where each trader used different resources for the purpose of communicative exchange. Sneddon (2003:41–42) points out that as early as the eighth century, during the era of the Srivijaya Kingdom, this new register of mixed Malay was taken along to the eastern part of Indonesia as the language of trading ports throughout the archipelago now known as Indonesia. It was then heavily influenced by elements from local languages, including Austronesian or non-Austronesian. This contact produced a register commonly referred to as a pidgin, and through use with family members was reported to develop into a creole.

Paauw (2008) provides a historical account of how the six varieties of Malay (NMM: North Moluccan Malay, MM: Manado Malay, AM: Ambon Malay, BM: Banda Malay, LM: Larantuka Malay, KM: Kupang Malay) emerged in Eastern Indonesia. NMM is spoken on the islands of Halmahera, Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan (Paauw 2008:46). NMM emerged as part of the clove trade that was controlled by Malay speakers, then by Portuguese and Dutch merchants, missionaries and governments from the sixth century to the mid-nineteenth century (Bausani 1960; Blagden 1930; Sneddon 2003). At the same time, trading contact also created MM, which is currently spoken primarily in the province of North Sulawesi and Sangir-Talaud Islands, and to a lesser extent in the provinces of Gorontalo and Central Sulawesi (Paauw 2008:42). MM was influenced by the variety of Malay spoken in Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, and on the main island of Halmahera (Paauw 2008:45–46). Later, in 1658, a Dutch fortress was established in Manado (Ricklefs 2001:79), and the arrival of people from the Netherlands also provided a large number of loanwords for MM.

AM is spoken on the island of Ambon, the neighboring islands of Saparua, Haruku and Nusa Laut, along the southern coast of Seram island and in urban locations in the southern Moluccas (Paauw 2008:51–52). AM began to develop after the establishment of a trading center by the Portuguese on the southern shore of Ambon Bay in 1524. Ambon is close to the Banda Islands and the regular interactions with the administration and residents of Ambon, and the sharing of income sources in the spice trade at that time opened a space for further contact and for the convergence of AM and BM to some extent. The Malay language spoken in the Banda islands before 1621 is referred to by scholars as "Banda Malay I" (Adelaar and Prentice 1996). In early 1621, the new governor-general of the Dutch V.O.C. *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, "United East India Company", Jan Pieterszoon Coen, repopulated the islands with people brought from different

regions including Papua, Seram, Buru, Timor and Borneo to work on the nutmeg plantations. Through their daily conversational exchanges such a diverse groups of slaves with a wide range of native languages developed a new Malay language referred to by scholars as "Banda Malay II" (Adelaar and Prentice 1996).

In Tanah Papua, the movement of Moluccans and Papuans in the five different but overlapping arenas: trade, migration, marriage, religion, and slavery gave space for the intersection of Papuan languages with NMM, AM and BM to construct different registers of Papuan Malay (PM). Malay was the lingua franca for trade in and around the Maluku Islands during the Srivijaya era (Sneddon 2003; Widjojo 2009). The Papuans between Onin peninsula and Kobiai used to ally themselves with the East Seramese with whom they established regular trade (Widjojo 2009:95). Folk stories and historical accounts suggest that migration from Biak, Numfor and Padaido Islands to the Raja Ampat Islands occurred around the fifteenth century (Widjojo 2009:98–99). They carried Biak, an Austronesian language, with them during the migration periods. These historical accounts also suggest that the peoples of Maluku, and western and northern Papua were already trading cloves, nutmeg, mace, and other things during these periods. Accordingly, it is believed that regular traders from nearby regions such as Bacan, Ternate, Tidore and Seram Laut had already traveled to Tanah Papua for trading purposes because the Raja Ampat Islands were the most important territories in Tidore's periphery (Andaya 1993:99) and were regarded as "the true breadbaskets of the Tidore kings" (VOC 1675 cited in Andaya 1993:99).

In addition, traders from Ternate/Tidore and Keffing in Seram Laut (East Ceram) traveled to Tanah Papua to buy sago, tortoise shell, ambergris, and spices from Papuans (Andaya 1993:101–102; Widjojo 2009:97). In these trading events, it is highly possible that the people from Tidore used NMM and those from Keffing used AM. Such mobility and contact then became intense after the arrival of Europeans at the beginning of the 1500s due to the high demand for these spices in other parts of the world (Widjojo 2009:133–134). Trade and long-term migration were thus the first means by which the mobility of people, goods and services promoted an intersection of Papuan languages with NMM and AM.

Marriage and religion also contributed to the birth of PM. During their regular trading missions before and after the arrival of Europeans, some Muslim traders from Tidore, Ternate, and Seram conducted their business in Tanah Papua and married local women (Onim 2006:89; Widjojo 2009:134). Similarly, young Papuan men whose parents owned rich forests were married to Muslim women from Seram (Onim 2006:96–97). Widjojo (2009:127) points out, "some Papuans also lived on Suruwaki Island and married East Seramese". More generally, the social domain of the family became a main center where NMM and AM, nine Austronesian languages, and ten non-Austronesian languages intersected (Onim 2006:96–97).

Slavery was another sector that generated movement and contact among Papuan languages, NMM, AM and BM. Papuan raiders and warriors became the main supplier of slaves as human power to row trading vessels, to plant and harvest spices, to do housekeeping and other services (Widjojo 2009). To meet the demand,

they raided villages, abducting men, women and children from Tanah Papua and Maluku to sell for prices ranging from thirty-eight to forty dollars per person (Widjojo 2009:111). It was reported that at the end of sixteenth century, Seram Laut was inhabited by five thousand wealthy merchants who employed one thousand Papuan slaves to work their gardens and to produce sago bread to sell to Banda, in exchange for nutmeg and mace. Some slaves were also sold to Banda to work on spice plantations during the British and the Dutch occupations (Kamma 1981:62). However, not all of them were sold, because some were also brought home. In particular, "the female captives were taken home as wives" (Widjojo 2009:112).

Although there are no historical records of the return of these slaves, it is believed that many of them may have returned home after the Dutch opened its government posts throughout Papua from 1898 to 1961. It was believed that those employed as the rowers of Tidore's vessels were the ones who spread NMM; those employed as the laborers in gardens and sago bread production in Seram Laut introduced AM; and those employed on spice plantations in Banda were the ones who brought BM to Papua. In addition, women married to Papuan men also played the role in spreading the varieties they spoke. So, they were the ones who brought NMM, AM and BM into contact with Papuan languages within the family, especially with their children, and then fragments of these languages spread throughout the communities as children interacted with their peers.

In sum and in theoretical terms, these families became the "institutions of replication" (Agha 2004:27) within which trading, religious and cultural registers were imitated as part of everyday language socialization practices and were normatizing forces of kin and family (typically through metasemiotic commentaries about appropriate use) helped to manage and simplify a diverse set of registers in the domain of the home. As elsewhere in the archipelago this simplification process increased through the efforts of missionaries and then colonial administrators (e.g., Errington 2001; Moriyama 2005).

From many to one Papuan Malay

Like other places, colonization and nation-building inevitably involves diversity management and the move to lump or simplify multiple registers into some type of standard (Gal 2012; Hobsbawm 1992; Scott 1998; Wallerstein 2004). The case of Papuan Malay is no different, and the story begins with similar types of missionary activity that has been reported elsewhere (Errington 2007), along with metasemiotic commentaries that named and framed the social value of Papuan Malay.

Protestant and Catholic missionaries came to Papua in different periods and to different parts of the island. Meteray (2012:31–32) indicates that in 1855 the Christian missionaries, C.W. Ottow and J.G. Geissler, arrived in the northern part of Papua and began their religious and education mission in Mansinam, Manokwari. Following this, in 1898, the Catholic missionary Le Cocq d'Armandville arrived in Fakfak the south western part of Papua for a similar purpose. Meteray (2012) notes that a teacher training school, together with a Protestant-built boarding house (in

1925), was one social domain for the cross-pollination of various languages and cultures of Tanah Papua.

From 1948 to 1961, the Dutch government collaborated with the Protestant and Catholic education to promote SM as a language of instruction (Kijne 1954). SM was compulsorily used in teaching-learning process, while the Dutch language was only taught as a subject at high schools. PM served as a bridging language between SM, Dutch, and local vernaculars. The crucial role of PM and indigenous languages were recognized by the headmaster of the Protestant school in Miei:

> At schools it is mandatory to teach standard Malay as a common language. The conferences decided that the outside regions, like Biak and Wondama, should use standard Malay at church as well, as long as it can be translated by the interpreter. And, of course, the native speaker teachers may use their own languages if they work in their own regions, and also may use the common standard Malay, and *the Moluccas Malay* [PM] which has been well-known in the coastal regions.
>
> (Kijne 1954, emphasis added)

Kijne's statement suggests that PM and SM were increasingly common in a number of social domains. Importantly, his statement points to an emergent regimentation and naming of languages and their social value, something that seemed to reflect observations of language use in various domains within the schooling system. For example, Meteray (2012) points out that the 13 years-old students from different regions came together to study at this school in July each year. During this schooling period, SM was obligatory in classroom activities, while SM and PM were used together when doing agricultural and carpenter work during their leisure time. Meteray adds that Kijne's well-designed SM teaching materials embedded local indigenous knowledge and culture so these materials were not only used by the Protestant schools in the North but also the Catholic schools in the South.

During the pre-colonial period, there were as many Papuan Malays as there were social domains in which language was used during human contact. This diversity inevitably became managed, in this case in the schooling system via metasemiotic commentaries that named languages and noted who used them to whom where and when. This activity needs to be seen within a wider communicative ecology, especially contact with a nascent Indonesian nation who eventually annexed what was then referred to by the Dutch as Netherland New Guinea.

Early relationships with Indonesia and the marginalization of PM

This section examines some important points of contact between a newly independent Indonesia and Dutch controlled Tanah Papua through to its incorporation into Indonesia. The main point of this section is that part of regime change involved a revaluing of languages in Papua, with Standard Malay being replaced

in the schooling system with Indonesian, and Papuan Malay and other Papuan languages becoming undervalued as languages of and for development.

The Japanese occupied Indonesia in 1942 and their surrender on the 15th of August 1945 paved the way for two Indonesian elites, Sukarno and Muhammad Hatta, to proclaim Indonesia's independence on the 17th of August 1945 (Vickers 2005). This proclamation was later accompanied by a constitution which among other things repeated a well-known ideology about nation-states (Hobsbawm 1992), namely that they are constituted by one territory, and one people with one language. Indonesia's proclamation of independence did not hinder the Dutch's return to Indonesia in 1946 where they resumed their administration and education activities. Meteray (2012) observes that from 1946 to 1961 the Papuan politicians formed eight political parties to prepare a new independence nation-state of West Papua (see also Alua 2006; Antoh 2007). At the same time, ex-Indonesian political prisoners living in Tanah Papua encouraged some Papuan leaders to join Indonesia.

The Papuan parliament was formed on April 5, 1961, and on December 1, 1961 West Papua declared a newly-born nation with an anthem *Hai Tanahku Papua* "O, my Land of Papua", a flag (the morning star), and a motto "One People, One Soul", but it had no named national language (Meteray 2012). The lack of a mention of a national language is an important point because its absence did not fit common perceptions of a nation-state found not only in Indonesia, but in other parts of the world. On December 19, 1961, Indonesian President Sukarno declared war against the Dutch in Papua and formed a special military commando called *Tri Komando Rakyat* "People's Triple Commands" with the well-known acronym TRIKORA under the command of General Suharto. In this declaration, TRIKORA was seen as necessary to defend Indonesia's independence and to frustrate the Netherlands attempts to build a new nation. In doing so, they did not recognize Papua's earlier claims to independence, perhaps in part due to that lack of a language of the nation state.

This decree raised tensions between the Netherlands and Indonesia from the end of 1961 to late of 1962 (Budiardjo and Liong 1988; Drooglever 2009; Saltford 2003). In February 1962, the then American Attorney-General, Robert Kennedy, traveled between Jakarta and The Hague to convince both parties to talk. Ellsworth Bunker, an American diplomat, was chosen as mediator of the discussions. On August 15, 1962, the New York Agreement was signed by the Netherlands and Indonesia; the agreement assigned the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) to maintain law and order in what was then referred to as West Papua. On October 1, 1962, UNTEA arrived in Papua. On December 31, 1962, the Dutch flag was pulled down and the Indonesian flag was raised beside the United Nations flag. On May 1, 1963, UNTEA handed over the administration of West Papua to Indonesia in order to manage a referendum called the Act of Free Choice in 1969. The outcome, although to this day hotly contested with claims of interference by American capital interests, was the incorporation of Papua as West Papua into Indonesia. Among other things, what stand out with the Papuan claim to independence and the subsequent annexation by Indonesia is the

marginalization of PM, a situation that befell many Indonesian languages during a period of intense nation building. This period began in the late 1960s and picked up momentum through an investment in mass schooling, and transportation and communication infrastructure; all made possible through a boom in oil prices in the early 1970s (Goebel 2015; Jukes 2010; Kuipers 1998).

These political moves also ultimately facilitated the mobility of Indonesia's emergent national language, Bahasa Indonesia (BI) "Indonesian" from the center to a newly formed periphery helping to further marginalize PM. Article XV of the New York Agreement suggested that formal educational institutions become the first places where BI is learned, through listening, speaking, reading and writing in classrooms. A legal requirement of the transfer of control of West Papua was that Indonesia had to comply with all Articles in the agreement before the Act of Free Choice was conducted in 1969. In particular, Article XV refers to education initiatives for combating apparent illiteracy, and social and economic underdevelopment. This legal requirement received substantial support in the form of a large education team organized in Jakarta (Mohanty 1972:44–45). This requirement was reinforced by the president of the Republic of Indonesia, who issued a Decree on 30 December 1968, directing that "a more intensive literacy programme be adopted in the overall Five Year Development Plan" for eradicating illiteracy throughout the country, including Tanah Papua (Mohanty 1972:44).

Such policies, especially around illiteracy and the need for social and economic development were imitations of centralized educational initiatives that were also underway elsewhere in Indonesia (e.g., Hoey 2003; Lenhart 1997). These initiatives helped to move the marginalization of PM from one primarily found in political discourse to one increasingly valorized in the organization and practice of schooling. Indeed, between 1969 and 1974 all Papuan teaching materials that used SM during Dutch colonial rule were replaced with Indonesia-produced materials in BI (Mohanty 1972).

For example, BI primers and reading materials produced in Jayapura, such as *Mari Membatja* "Let's Read" was published for use in literacy classes in Jayapura and the Wamena areas. A series of black and white filmstrips was also prepared, for use in conjunction with these primers. Elsewhere, centrally designed textbooks, such as *Bahasa Indonesia Untuk Orang Dani* "Indonesian Language for Dani people" (published in four volumes), provided reading material for the learning of BI (Ellenburger 1972:30–31). Such material contributed to the more general use of BI in schools; all of which increased BI's social value in contrast to both SM and PM. For example, Mohanty (1972:46) notes: "in the Wamena area, children attending school learned Bahasa Indonesia at school". Schools thus provided one social domain where learning BI was a socially valued activity and where PM and other languages were not.

In sum, and as elsewhere in Indonesia, Indonesian became a major vehicle of and for a highly centralized nation-building effort. While regional languages where recognized in the 1945 Indonesian constitution, they received little support with the schooling system (see Chapter 2 in this volume). Even so, much of the

effects of development sowed the seeds for regime change as well as claims for a stronger political voice and a larger share of financial resources (Aspinall and Fealy 2003). In the following section, we explore the effect that these changes had on PM.

Regime changes, decentralization, and Papuan Malay

In May 1998, the then president of Indonesia, Soeharto, stepped down and he was replaced by his deputy, Habibie. While only president for a short time, Habibie oversaw the initiation of a large scale decentralization process that later came into effect in 2001 (Aspinall and Fealy 2003). He also contributed to a decrease in media censorship laws, which as we will see in the next section enabled the marketization of Papuan Malay in ways similar to what had happened to other regional languages and varieties of Malay in Indonesia from the early 1990s onwards (Goebel 2015; Kitley 2000; Sen and Hill 2000). This process took more time than in other areas in Indonesia and indeed PM received relatively little attention via metasemiotic commentaries that valued PM in political domains, despite a recognition of the need to increase Tanah Papua's autonomy.

Determined to ease the unstable political situation in Tanah Papua, Indonesia's third president, Gus Dur, reconciled with Papuans through three historical manoeuvers in 2000. These manoeuvers included changing the provincial name of *Irian Jaya* "victorious Irian" into *Papua* "black and curly", providing two million rupiah for the Second Papuan Congress in November 2000, and allowing the Papuans to raise their Morning Star flag on December 1, 2000 in Jayapura (Somba 2006). In this second congress, PM was promoted as a language of communication among Papuans (Ramandey 2005:86). In the following year, Indonesia's fifth president, Megawati Soekarnoputri, issued the Special Autonomy Law (2001/21), and indicated that this was a way forward for solving political problems in Tanah Papua, which included a continued separatist movement (Antoh 2007:187; Yoman 2010:32). Between 2004 and 2014, Indonesia's sixth president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), responded to these perceived needs via a number of initiatives and decrees (Somba 2011).

Despite these ongoing efforts, in 2010 Papuans staged a rally and symbolically returned the Special Autonomy Law to the government arguing that it had failed due to the lack of political will from the central government to implement decentralization or address literacy, poverty, and human rights issues in Tanah Papua (Somba 2010; 2011). In the domain of local Papuan politics, PM was also not gaining any ground. For example, in the Third Papuan Congress, conducted from 17 to 19 October 2011, attendees declared self-governance and called their new nation the Federal Republic of West Papua (Somba 2011), but did not recommend PM as their preferred national language (Kluge 2014). In 2014, Indonesia's seventh and current president, Joko Widodo, commissioned Indonesia's peak research body, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) to evaluate the effectiveness of these initiatives and decrees (Aritonang 2014).

In sum, if we examine either political discourses about PM or PM within the Papuan schooling system, then with the exception of the 2014 presidential campaign, PM had little social value between 1963 and 2014, and BI continued to be ideologized and used as the language of wider communication in Tanah Papua. Decentralization laws, however, opened pathways for the revaluation of PM in other social domains, including in the mass media and on local level government signage.

Bringing laws to market

During the period from 1999 to 2014 a host of new laws were introduced as part of wider ongoing decentralization processes within Indonesia. These laws along with a relaxation of media censorship enabled media producers across Indonesia to start to experiment with the use of local material in films and programming as a way to access perceived niche markets (Goebel 2015; Loven 2008; Rachmah 2006). In this section, we briefly discuss these laws and what it meant for registers such as PM, before then looking at their uptake. We argue that these laws contributed to an increased use of PM across several media genres.

Point 1 in Article 58 of the Special Autonomy Law No. 21/2001 for Tanah Papua obliged the provincial government to foster, develop and preserve the regional languages, literatures, and identity of Papuans. Point 3 of the same article authorized the use of regional languages (i.e., language other than Indonesian) in the early years of schooling. This has been something that had been part of language education elsewhere in Indonesia since the 1980s (Lowenberg 1992; Nababan 1985; 1991), although implementation has been patchy (Kurniasih 2007). Since decentralization legislation has been implemented elsewhere in Indonesia, schools have had the choice of implementing cooking, computing, English and regional languages as part of local content (Bjork 2003; 2005; Mertosono 2014). To date there is no empirical data on language use in Papuan classrooms.

Tanah Papua's special autonomy law was later modified via other laws on broadcasting (Law No. 32/2002) and film production (Law No. 33/2009). Essentially Article 38 of Law 32/2002 authorized the use of regional languages for local media broadcasts. As with the use of regional languages in the early years of schooling, this legislation already existed and was implemented elsewhere in Indonesia (Goebel 2015; Loven 2008; Sen and Hill 2000). The law on film production was very general and authorized the representation of all daily cultural practices via this medium. This law in particular seemed to be playing catch up with actual film-making practices.

For example, the 2006 film *Denias* "Denias" (the name of central character) represented Papuan social life accompanied by heavy use of Papuan Malay. This film was followed by five others that imitated this form of representation: *Melody Kota Rusa 1* "The Melody of Rusa Township 1" (2010), *Melody Kota Rusa 2* "The Melody of Rusa Township 2" (2012), *Di Timur Matahari* "To the East of the Sun" (2012), and *Cinta dari Wamena* "Love from [the place of] Wamena" (2014). In a

sense, each of these films brought these new laws to the film market. They utilized the same market logic as the Indonesian television soaps of the early 1990s which also used fragments of regional languages to increase market share (Loven 2008; Rachmah 2006) or "indexically select" (Blommaert 2013) a niche audience who could recognize these fragments.

Extract 1 represents six examples of represented talk from the films, Denias and Melodi Kota Rusa 1. The first three examples (a–c) are extracted from interactions between school students and teachers in the film Denias, while the next three examples (e–f) are extracted from parent child interactions in the film Melodi Kota Rusa 1. What stands out in each extract is the habitual mixing of Indonesian (BI) in plain font, and Papuan Malay (PM) in italics.

Extract 1 Representations of talk in the films Denias and Melodi Kota Rusa 1

(a) *Anana* berhenti!
Stop *children*!
(b) Bapa, *sa mo* skola disini
Sir, *I wanna* study here.
(c) *Sa* minta maaf *mama*
I beg your pardon, *Madam*
(d) Lebih baik *ko* bantu bapa
It's better you help me
(e) Semenjak *sa mace* meninggal
Since *my mum* passed away
(f) *Sa* beli baju untuk *pace* di Muting
I am going to buy a shirt for *dad* at Muting

In addition to calling students by name, teachers also collectively address students as *anana* "children", as in example (a). The students address male teachers in a familiar BI form *bapa* (father), as in example (b), but in example (c) use *mama* or *mama guru* "mother teacher" to female teachers which contrasts with BI use of *Bu guru* "mother teacher". It is also the case that it is common to find the BI term for self-reference, *saya* "I/me" truncated to sa, as in examples (b), (c), (e), and (f). The BI verb of volition *mau* "will" has also undergone a sound change from the BI dipthong /ow/ to the vowel /o/, as in example (b). The same sound change is attested in the second person BI pronoun for other reference *Kau* /kow/, which is represented in talk as /ko/, as in example (d). In interactions between parents and children, we often find the use of *mace* "mum" and *pace* "dad", as in examples (e) and (f).

There is also evidence of these films uptake in other social domains, especially if we look at their remediation in YouTube and the commentaries that they attracted. In a sense, this uptake is further evidence of an emergent process of the revaluation of PM. Of import too, is their circulation via one-to-many participation frameworks which increases the potential audiences who can recognize PM as well as experience its apparent increase in social value.

We see this revaluation process in a number of other social domains including the one-to-many participation frameworks of broadcast television (e.g., on TVRI Papua, TV Papua, and Jaya TV) and radio, as well as local political signage (Morin 2018). Extract 2 is taken from the "Papua news" timeslot on Jaya TV on the 18th February 2013. PM is in italics and BI is in plain font.

Extract 2 Selecting Papuan audience on television

(a) *Pace*, *mace*, sodara *dorang* karna cuaca yang *tra* bagus ikan di pasar mahal.
Fathers, *Mothers*, *you all* [know that] due to the *not* good weather … lots of fish in the market are expensive.

(b) *Mama*, bapa, sodara *dorang* harga ikan yang naik ini …
Mothers, *fathers*, *you all*, the increase of the price of fish …

As found in cinematic representations of talk, in this television news framed specifically for Papuan audiences we see the use of *pace* "father" and *mace* "mother" in example (a), and *mama* "mother" in example (b). In both examples we also see the use of *dorang* literally "they", but here it is better glossed "you all". In typical BI news broadcasts *saudara* or *pemirsa* would be found to address the audience. Note too, the use of the PM negator *tra* instead of the BI *tidak/tak*. As in Ewing (this volume), negators and terms of address are often reused in dialogue with other resources. As in films, the use of such linguistic forms and indeed the naming of the slot as "Papua News" not only reproduces boundaries but also the linguistic forms used with them. At the same time, such broadcasts recirculate and value PM (via the fact that they are broadcast at all), select a particular audience (i.e. Those that have competence to comprehend these forms), while engendering knowledge of such forms amongst wider populations.

We can get a sense of some of the ways that this knowledge is actively used in Extract 3, which is a commentary by the Indonesian minister for telecommunications, Yusuf Iskandar, who visited Jayapura in 2008 (located in Papua). During his visit he watched TopTV (now Jaya TV) and he made the comments below on the 25th of July 2008 specifically about the Tanah Papua News programming.

> Interestingly, the terms *pace-mace* (folks) are used almost at the beginning of each sentence without a pause as if the news reader is having a dialogue with his/her listeners and not just informing an event. … Besides, other words such as *paetua* (BI: *bapak*; English: Sir, Mr), *su* (BI: *sudah*; English: already), *dong* (BI: *mereka*; English: they), *tong* (BI: *kita*; English: we), *bilang* (BI: *mengatakan*; English: say), and so forth are also used. Top TV has begun a step to globalize, represent the word *pembangunan* ("development"), that is, develop the people of Jayapura and Tanah Papua. (Morin's translation)
>
> (http://yiskandar.wordpress.com/2008/07/28/banyak-pace-mace-di-top-tv/)

In addition to anchoring the forms used to Tanah Papua through his initial mention of where he heard these terms, and through a comparison to what he would expect (not in the gloss above), the minister metasemiotically frames the talks as appropriate in intimate and thus local contexts, while also commenting on the general value of Top TV for developing Tanah Papua.

In sum, decentralization and special autonomy laws and their subsequent modifications, together with a relaxation of censorship enabled the whole host of agents involved in media production to produce programming that contained emblems of Papuan-ness in general and of PM in particular as a way of selecting a niche market. In doing so, these processes helped add social value to PM, while increasing the ability of other Indonesians to recognize and comprehend fragments of PM. Taking inspiration from Agha, Goebel (2013, 2015) has referred to this effect as "knowledging". Such processes also occurred in other social domains, including signage (Goebel et al. 2017; Morin 2018)

Conclusion

Papuan Malay (PM) emerged initially as a trade language and its social value increased with the arrival of missionaries who used it while also standardizing a form of Malay that was referred to as standard Malay and subsequently used in their missions. While it had some social value during the late stages of the Dutch colonial period and indeed until 1962, this value decreased as Tanah Papua was incorporated into the Indonesian state in 1963. From 1963 until around 1998, Bahasa Indonesia (BI) started to replace SM used in written documents and PM used as language of instruction in schools. BI also become the language of Tanah Papua in the political discourses of the Jakartan and Papuan elite.

Even so, the decentralization and special autonomy laws that came into force in the early 2000s, as well as a number of subsequent laws and regulations relating to regional languages to be used in the mass media helped engender a climate where PM gained more social value. This was evidenced through the representation of PM in films and its use on television, radio, and in local government signage. What was common in many of these social domains, was the use of a type of market logic that commodified PM as a way of attracting niche audiences. In doing so, the circulation of such forms and their metasemiotic framing as Papuan helped to not only construct a cultural border inhabited by speakers of fragments of PM, but it also engendered competence to recognize and comprehend these forms among a wider Indonesian population in a way that also reproduced ideologies linking territory to group and linguistic forms.

Note

1 The empirical research that forms the basis of this paper was gathered as part of Morin's Ph.D. thesis, while some of the ideas relating to the theorization and analysis of this material was done in collaboration with Goebel.

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11

THE EMERGENT SELECTIVITY OF SEMIOTICALLY PLAYFUL UTTERANCES

Deborah Cole

Theory: terms for a materialist semiotics

> Utterances and their types, that is, speech genres, are the drive belts from the history of society to the history of language. There is not a single new phenomenon (phonetic, lexical, or grammatical) that can enter the system of language without having traversed the long and complicated path of generic-stylistic testing and modification.
>
> (Bakhtin 1986:65)

An UTTERANCE is a *real unit* characterized by a change in speaking subject who has the possibility to respond to a completed idea articulated by a previous speaker (Bakhtin 1986).[1] We call this possibility of response UPTAKE (Agha 2011b; Cole and Pellicer 2012). In constructing an utterance, a speaker draws on her repertoire of forms within her repertoire of speech genres assembled through her personal history of UPTAKE of others' forms, selects particular forms, configures them, and utters them in such a way as to elicit a response, with knowledge (whether tacit or explicit) of the eneregistered social effects such formal configurations typically engender in particular contexts.[2] Thus, utterances are inherently social because they are "link[s] in the chain of speech communion" (Bakhtin 1986:84). They are also inherently social because they produce a model of the social occasion in which they occur, which is to say that utterances enable communicators to configure and interpret the social relations between them as effects of the utterances themselves (Agha 2011a).

Take for example the English sentence, "I bid you good day, sir". Should this sentence be uttered by a speaker who directs it at another speaker in anticipation of a response (i.e., when this sentence form is used as an utterance in the Bakhtinian sense), it would produce a model of a social situation that includes at

least the stereotyped features (or "diacritics", to use Agha's term) of class (upper) and nationality (British), bringing to my own mind images of two gentlemen standing on a street in London wearing top hats and waistcoats and holding umbrellas. To use this sentence as an utterance is to configure the social relation between the communicators as involving politeness (sincere, feigned, or playful) between members of an upper class. Even if we have never actively participated in the enregisterment of these effects in our own language use, these stereotypical effects may be familiar to us through UPTAKE of our example sentence's use in novels or films.

Because utterances are part of an ongoing utterance chain, stretching back into the past and projecting into the future, each utterance in the present either reinforces a form's previously stereotyped effects—by reinscribing some or all of its social indexes via congruence with pervious usages—or articulates new effects, in some cases by configuring forms in ways that are incongruent with their previous usages.[3] Thus any enregistered effect necessarily follows from effects that first emerged at particular moments in the chain of speech communion and then became enregistered over time. Let us call effects that have not yet become enregistered, but that have the potential for becoming so, EMERGENT EFFECTS. While emergent effects share some features with the enregistered effects with which communicators are already familiar, emergent effects are by definition *relatively less familiar* than stereotypical effects for the communicators who experience them.

It is important to note here that there is a sense in which *all* social effects of utterances are emergent, as they are always either regenerated or newly generated *in situ* (Agha 2007; Bakhtin 1986; Eckert 2018). This fact is not easily intuitable for stereotypical effects, however, because our familiarity with stereotypical effects, and in some cases our ability to talk about them in familiar ways, gives them a solidity that appears to endure beyond the moment of each individual utterance that reinscribes their effects. The difference between enregistered stereotypical effects and emergent effects, then, is not so much a matter of type but a matter of when and where in the history of a social semiotic chain the particular utterances generating a particular effect occur.

An EMERGENT EFFECT happens at some temporally prior point in a semiotic chain than an enregistered one, and only in hindsight can be said to have participated in the enregisterment of a stereotypical effect. Although EMERGENT EFFECTS happen just as regularly as stereotypical ones, they are produced and perceived by communicators that lack a meta-discursive vocabulary with which to refer to them or a habitus within which to interpret them. As inputs into a semiotic chain that *may or may not* lead to their eventual enregisterment, they are somewhat difficult to pin down and talk about. Further, utterances producing EMERGENT EFFECTS always have the potential via UPTAKE to reconfigure stereotypical effects and thereby produce further EMERGENT EFFECTS. It is in these moments of reconfiguration that EMERGENT EFFECTS are noticeable, and it is precisely their contrary to stereotype structure that draws our attention towards the act of construal of meaning, which goes relatively unnoticed for stereotypical effects precisely because of our familiarity with the

structures of their effect-producing forms via repeated exposure to the particular history of their semiotic chain.

We will see that one way to produce an EMERGENT EFFECT is to creatively reconfigure familiar forms in unfamiliar ways, inviting the responder to creatively construe the novel form, or produce a novel INTERPRETANT. Building on Peirce's three-part concept of a dynamic semiosis made up of the sign-vehicle, object, and interpretant, Eckert defines INTERPRETANT as "the in-the-moment construal of the sign" (2018:1204). While all INTERPRETANTS are construed anew in the moment of assigning meaning, unfamiliar INTERPRETANTS demand a construal for which there is no readily available prior model or label. Let us call a "deliberately mix[ed]" (Bakhtin 1986:80) semiotic form that creatively configures semiotic fragments from different speech genres requiring a creative interpretation by a responder a PLAYFUL UTTERANCE. The data below provide examples, demonstrating how utterance forms consisting of co-occurring sign configurations can sketch an as yet unfamiliar social relation between the communicators and thereby produce EMERGENT EFFECTS. One such effect, it will be argued, is the projection of a PROTO-PERSONA, or a "figure of personhood" (Agha 2005) that has yet to take on a relatively stable and recognizable set of diacritics because the semiotic links between the signs that would reliably index such a persona have yet to become socially recognizable.

Two final terms are needed before we proceed, both taken from Agha's theory of commodity registers. The first is the CONFIGURATIVE OBJECT-SIGN, defined as "the performance of otherwise familiar commodity tokens in cotextually noncongruent styles" (Agha 2011a:47). The second, COMMODITY FORMULATION, applies to any "things or activities we treat as commodities" (Agha 2011a:26). Our data consist of sign objects that are playfully configured from elements of multiple other signs. Many of the sign elements used in the construction of these sign objects index familiar COMMODITY REGISTERS (Agha 2011a) and carry with them the diacritics of previous COMMODITY FORMULATIONS into the new CONFIGURATIVE OBJECT-SIGNS (COSs). Displayed on t-shirts, hats, and other wearable souvenirs marketed to people performing the persona of tourist, these CONFIGURATIVE OBJECT-SIGNS select their addressees—but not by indexing an already enregistered category of addressees. Instead they suggest or generate a yet-to-be-delimited category of addressees by combining fragments of previously enregistered identity indexes in playful ways.

Data: Aseli Bikinan Dagadu Djokjas's commodity formulations

> In some ways, an unintended outcome of processes of enregisterment that occurred between 1966 and 2009…is that Indonesians can now also index their Indonesian-ness by knowing about or even speaking fragments of the ethnic "voices" (Hill 1995) of other Indonesians (e.g., Cole 2010).
>
> (Goebel 2015:229)

Aseli Bikinan Dagadu Djokdja[4] is a souvenir company in Jogjakarta, a city located near the southern coast of central Java. The company was launched by a group of

architecture students from Gadjah Mada University in 1994. It mostly produces and sells t-shirts, but also offers a variety of other souvenir items including hats, bags, stickers, key rings, mugs, and decks of playing cards. The target market for these products is tourists from other places in Indonesia, who intend to fulfil a common social obligation to bring back *oleh-oleh* (souvenirs) for their family, friends, neighbors and co-workers upon returning home from a trip. Every town, no matter how small, produces something, typically some kind of snack, for just this purpose. *Aseli Bikinan Dagadu Djokda* takes advantage of this social convention by producing non-edible commodities emblazoned with a dizzying array of CONFIGURATIVE OBJECT SIGNS to represent the city of Jogja and its people. What is for sale at Dagadu is not so much the items themselves (the t-shirts, for example, are all made of the same high quality cotton, in only a couple of styles, in a series of standard sizes), but the sign configurations representing Jogja.[5]

The dizzying array of sign configurations for sale are organized, however, into a set of categories conveying one or more of the themes listed in Table 11.1. By purchasing these products, buyers align themselves with others who can afford such products, people who have been to Jogja or know someone who has, people who identify with the aesthetic and social commentary promoted by the company (i.e. its COMMODITY FORMULATION), and people who are interested in expanding their "visual repertoire" (Blommaert 2013) by interpreting familiar diacritics in contextually non-congruent configurations.

On all of the items for sale at Dagadu, familiar (and unfamiliar) diacritics which reference popular culture, literature, brand logos, local places and typical experiences in the city, are configured in contrary to stereotype configurations to do at least one, if not all, of the following: Draw on readers' recognition of diacritics belonging to other company's well enregistered brands and logos; Create a configuration of diacritics that conveys one or more of their themes; Create a *plesetan* (pun, riddle, wordplay, mashup) that the reader must solve. Examples illustrating these characteristics of the company's COMMODITY FORMULATION are presented in Figures 11.1–11.5. These images are taken from a deck of playing cards purchased in 2010 that compiled images and designs the company had used on their products in previous years.

Figure 11.1 presents two COSS that draw on the internationally recognized advertising campaigns for the Coca-Cola soft drink and Absolut vodka. Familiar diacritics for the Coca-Cola-based image for example, include the word "always"

TABLE 11.1 Aseli Bikinan Dagadu Djokja's themes

Jogja is a great place to relax on vacation
People in Jogja are friendly and will make you smile and laugh
Jogja has a rich cultural history
People in Jogja are educated and care about social issues
People in Jogja are technologically savvy
Jogja is home to a diverse population that celebrates diversity

FIGURE 11.1 Reorganizing diacritics in brand logos

and the font used for the word "Jogja" placed in the center of the large red circle where the word "Coca-Cola" would be expected.

The two images in Figure 11.2 convey the company's theme that Jogja[6] is a place to relax, the one on the left making a pun between "for rest" and "forest" and the one on the right presenting a road sign reading "relaxing district" (*kawasan santai*).

Figure 11.3 illustrates the themes that Jogja has a rich cultural history and an educated populace. The image on the left uses the phrase "Who wants to be a *pesinden*?" troping on the internationally popular television game show "Who wants to be a millionaire?". This phrase is accompanied by an image of a *pesdinen*: a female singer in a Javanese puppet show who sits for six to seven hours on her knees with her legs tucked under her for the duration of the performance. *Lesehan* means to sit on the floor, and many restaurants in Jojga offer *lesehan* seating. As Jogja is known for its shadow puppet theater and its floor-seated dining, this text reads as emblematic of prototypical Jogjakartan entertainment even as it simultaneously indexes an internationally recognized media program. The image on the right uses the phrase *Jogja kota pinter* (Jogja [the] smart city) and the acronym SKS, which in the context of education jargon stands for *satuan kredit semester* (semester credit units). These diacritics reference the fact that Jogja is a hub for higher education, boasting twenty-one universities as well as dozens of polytechnical institutions and post-secondary academies ranging across the arts, sciences, agriculture, and business administration. Here, the SKS diacritic combined with references to coffee (*kopi*)

FIGURE 11.2 Jogja is relaxing

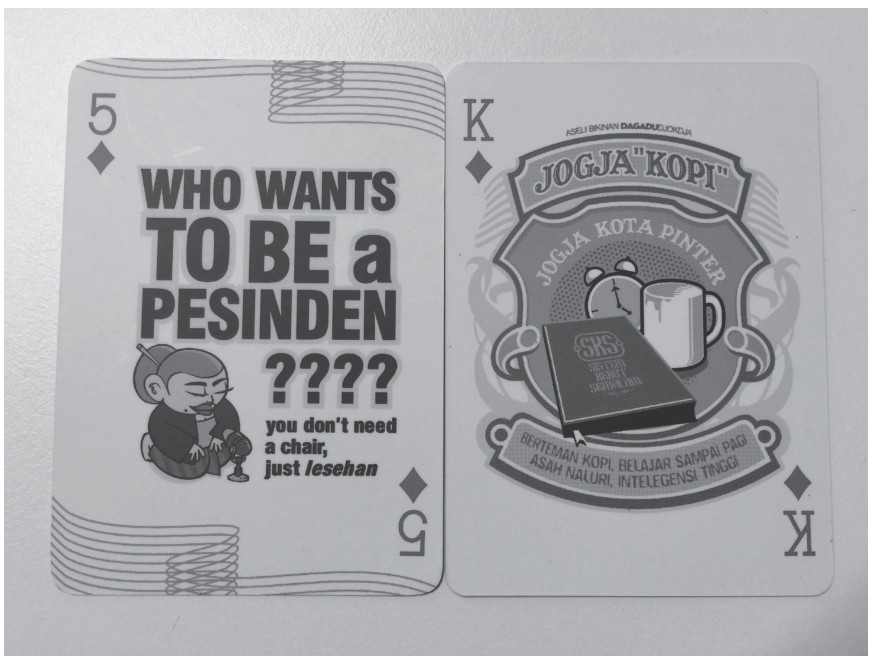

FIGURE 11.3 Rich cultural history and educated populace

has been reorganized as an abbreviation for "*system kebut semalam*" ("system to speed up activity overnight").[7]

The three examples in Figure 11.4 focus explicitly on the theme of Jogja's diversity. The first image tropes on Indonesia's national motto *Bhinneka tunggal ika* (an old Javanese phrase taken from an ancient poem urging tolerance between Buddhists and Hindus). The phrase is typically translated as "unity in diversity".[8] Here the replacement of *ika* with *Djokdja* changes the meaning to "Jogja in diversity", and rescales the national motto into a local one. The text at the bottom of the image "*berbeda-beda tetep roeken joea*" can be translated as "differing nevertheless still harmonious and helpful". The words in this phrase index a variety of language registers: *Bebeda-beda* (differing/different) is standard Indonesian. T*etep* (still) reflects a colloquial pronunciation of the word standardly spelled as *tetap*. *Rukun* is a prototypically Javanese social value of harmoniousness and helpfulness (Hawkins 1996), and the 'oe' spellings for the /u/ sounds in *roekoen* and *joea* (nevertheless) come from the era of Dutch colonialism.[9]

The second image in Figure 11.4 displays the English phrase, "Never ending Jogja", the city's official slogan during the *Reformasi* era, as well as the Indonesian phrase, *Djokdja rupa-rupa* (Jogja is varied). In the third image, the word *kost* meaning "board room" or 'boarding house", perhaps the most widely available type of student housing in the city, is used to create the pun "*kost*mopolitan". The various speech bubbles make use of an orthographic style typical of text messages and

FIGURE 11.4 Jogja celebrates diversity

social media posts to articulate various comments including one about the electricity being out—*lampune mati* (the lights are dead), where the Javanese suffix 'ne' has been added to the Indonesian word 'lampu'—and a request to borrow a book—*pinjam buku, dong,* (c'mon, lend me a book), where "dong" is an emphatic marker in colloquial Indonesian speech.

One of Dagadu's most persistent themes is that coming to Jogja will make you smile and laugh. This is illustrated in Figure 11.5. The first image tropes on Yahoo Messenger's logo and the second on Johnson & Johnson's insecticide product "Baygon", also known as *Raid*. In the latter, the phrase meaning "insecticide" (*obat anti nyamuk*—anti mosquito medicine or pesticide) is changed to *obat anti* **ngamuk** (anti-rage medicine or "rage–icide"). The product name "Baygon" has been replaced with the Javanese word *guyon* (joke), the company name "Bayer" with *gayen* (delightful), and "funniness guaranteed" (*jaminan lucu*) is included at the bottom.

Finally, Figure 11.6 creates a pun by merging the city's brand slogan *Jogja berhati nyaman* (Jogja has a comfortable/pleasant heart) with Kentucky Fried Chicken's Indonesian marketing slogan, *Jagonya Ayam* (chicken expert or chicken wizard): *Jogjanya nyaman* (Jogja's the pleasant one). The yellow stripes are taken from the city's brand logo and there's a traditional Javanese hat (*blangkon*) on the image of Colonel Sanders.

FIGURE 11.5 (Tech-savvy) people in Jogja will make you smile and laugh

FIGURE 11.6 Kentucky Fried Jogja

Discussion: how fractional familiarity and collaborative uptake contribute to emergent selectivity

> The meaning of all linguistic signs is underspecified.
>
> (Eckert 2018:1200)

Let us return to the theoretical issues that concerned us in the opening section. This sample of the CONFIGURATIVE OBJECT SIGNS formulating Dagadu's commodity

register invite us to think about the conditions under which responses to forms, or UPTAKE, become possible. We may ask, if a form can only achieve utterancehood when there is a possibility for a response, what characteristics of forms, as *potential* utterances, can increase their chances of obtaining a response? We know that mediatization, for example, is one condition that enables an utterance to increase its chances for uptake by multiplying the number of possible responders via dissemination to larger audiences (Agha 2011b; Cole and Pellicer 2012). The COSS that concern us here are certainly mediatized, and they point us towards some other interesting characteristics, namely degree of interpretability and the collaborative nature of interpretability, that may also increase forms' chances for uptake.

The configurers of Dagadu COSS must imagine potential responders who will recognize and appreciate their configurations. But, purposefully configuring semiotic objects out of elements from multiple speech genres may be risky. One risk is that any given potential responder may not get the joke, not having a wide enough repertoire to be able to recognize the semiotic links required for an INTERPRETANT. This deliberate mixing may simultaneously mitigate this potential risk, however. Although any particular COS may have the potential to reach a rather small set of responders if those responders are narrowly defined as responders able to interpret *all* of the diacritics contributing to the object sign, the sheer variety of references almost guarantees recognizability of at least *some* diacritics for a much larger audience. Responders need only be familiar with a fraction of the diacritics arranged together in a particular COS to be compelled to purchase, wear, and spread the COS to a wider range of potential responders. An example may serve to illustrate this point.

I purchased the t-shirt pictured in Figure 11.7 because of my familiarity with three diacritics: 1. The connection to global warming indexed by the graphic of the earth on fire and the similarity between the arrangement of letters in the phrases "global warming" and "gombal manning", 2. The phrase, "so what gitu loh?", and 3. The fact that "conference" was one of the words in the text. I deduced, after having purchased the item, that the overall reference was to the UN Bali Climate Change conference in December 2007. I had no idea what "gombal manning" meant, but I started wearing the shirt and asking my friends about it: "Apa, sih, artinya gombal manning?" (What does gombal manning mean, anyway?). I got some hemming and hawing, some "well…it kind of means…" and finally someone gave me a straight answer: "*Gombal manning* is basically Javanese for *more bullshit*."

This PLAYFUL UTTERANCE, "Beware of gombal manning!", selected me as its responder. It selected for an English speaker who attends conferences, a person who claims to care about the issue of global warming, and an Indonesian speaker, who had not only used the phrase, *so what, gitu loh?* ("it's like, so what?") but had engaged in an extended conversation with my Indonesian language instructor on its usage, pronunciation, and popularity in contemporary public discourse. It selected me despite the fact that at the point that I purchased the shirt, I had not yet interpreted all of its diacritics. It was only later that I realized the connection to the UN climate change conference and began to understand the Javanese. I didn't throw

FIGURE 11.7 Fractional familiarity

away the shirt or stop wearing it once I understood all the diacritics. In fact, I was more motivated than ever to show it off. We can imagine that this COS would have also selected other buyers with different experiences, preferences, histories, and levels of ability to interpret the whole sign configuration, as there must certainly be a limited number of English-speaking academics who also like scatological puns visiting Jogjakarta at any given time. (We shall return to this point in the discussion of proto-personae below.)

We are now in position to see that complete interpretability is not a necessary condition for UPTAKE. A COS can achieve UPTAKE even when the responder is only able to construe meaning based on familiarity with a fraction of the elements included in the form. And if FRACTIONAL FAMILIARITY is a sufficient condition for UPTAKE, a COS that mixes elements from multiple known *and* unknown forms effectively expands its chances of successfully selecting responders. This non-exhaustive nature of the INTERPRETANT directs our attention back towards the social nature of the UTTERANCE with which we began this chapter. By selecting responders who need only be fractionally familiar with the total set of diacritics contributing to the COS, such PLAYFUL UTTERANCES can also select a team of responders who together have the necessary experience and familiarity with the whole range of indexical diacritics present in the playfully configured object sign. A final example clarifies this point. I had seen the COS pictured in Figure 11.8 in the deck of cards I own many times, but it hadn't selected me. I was baffled by it. The diacritics I understood were "Jogja" and "loecoe"[10], the latter because I was familiar with Dagadus's inclination to use Dutch spellings for the sounds /u/ and /dʒ/ ('oe' and 'dj', respectively). While working with these data in preparation for the conference at which the first iteration of this chapter was presented, I had the image in Figure 11.8 on a screen in my office while I was talking with a graduate student. Suddenly, I was able to interpret the orthographic string "Champoeng": "Oh, it's *kampung*!"[11] I exclaimed. The student responded with something like, "Oh, yeah, the soccer logo". "Soccer?"

FIGURE 11.8 Collaborative decoding

I replied, "I had no idea what that was." A quick online search revealed that I had *seen* the image before, but it wasn't a sign I was particularly familiar with. Thanks to my collaborative responder, I now can read the images, face type, and their spatial organization as diacritics indexing UEFA Champions League.

These data demonstrate that "the long and complicated path of generic-stylistic testing and modification" (Bakhtin 1986:65) involves not only imitation

of previously eneregistered indexical relationships to some level of fidelity, but can also involve the simultaneous and reflexive *partial* imitation along with creative combinations of elements from multiple speech genres within a single form. Such configurations, what we have called PLAYFUL UTTERANCES, produce a semiotic game for the potential responder to play, and it is in this play that an INTERPRETANT can emerge. Perhaps it is clear, Dear Reader, from your own experience with several of Dagadu's OBJECT SIGNS above, that a characteristic of PLAYFUL UTTERANCES is that they can require a noticeable duration of time for you to process the meaning of their varied diacritics and to decide whether or not a particular sign configuration will select you.

Conclusion: emergent effects and the projection of proto-personae

> Changes in social categories come about through gradual and meaningful changes in the personae that constitute them.
>
> (Eckert 2018:1205)

We have seen that contrary to habitual understandings of how language works, speakers not only select and configure signs to articulate their utterances, but sign configurations select their addressees for UPTAKE, the particular modalities and diacritics of a sign giving it a *semiotic scope* that reaches different audiences for selection (Blommaert 2013). As our Dagadu sign objects move along multiple chronotopic vectors on the bodies of their wearers, they acquire a constantly varying *spatial scope* (Blommaert 2013), triggering indexical recognitions (and non-recognitions) along with both positively and negatively valued evaluations along various scales. In collaboration with the visible diacritics of their wearers and with other visible diacritics available in the semiotic landscape through which their wearer moves, our Dagadu signs define *identities* (Blommaert 2013:47). In describing the effects signs emplaced in a landscape have on the people who move through the signs' space, Blommaert (2013:48) writes:

> When we walk through a street, *our identities can and do change every few steps* (italics in original)…We do not consciously feel such immediate changes in identity because we do not choose them. The signs select them for us and pin them upon us—space is, in that sense, agentive.

To conclude our analysis of our signs' emergent selectivity then, let us turn to a final question, "What identities do our Dagadu signs pin on their readers?"

Dagadu sign configurations participate in the enregisterment of an emergent, variable persona, organized around at least the following characteristics: Association with Jogja, a penchant for punning and language play, and a familiarity with multiple speech registers and genres (someone who knows something about Javanese, Indonesian, English, *and* Dutch, for example, is likely to be able to respond to more

of Dagadu's sign objects). More specifically, the generic variation of diacritics used in Dagadu's CONFIGURATIVE OBJECT SIGNS projects a persona of someone who *delights* in the mixing and creative manipulation of these registers' defining diacritics (rather than someone with a preference for adherence to the demarcation and policing of genre and register boundaries). This proto-persona defines itself via constantly shifting diacritics that "formulate [their] indexical selectivity" (Agha 2011a:44) on the fly. The person who would read, interpret, and recognize such configurations must continuously interpret shifting, varied diacritics that, regardless of their variation in form, similarly index a Dagadu persona. Dagadu's commodity formulation, then, uses contrary to stereotype effects produced by indexical non-congruence as a unifying aesthetic. And as such, Dadadu's PLAYFUL UTTERANCES participate in a semiotic meta-commentary that explicitly invites the blurring of register and genre boundaries while projecting an identity adept at responding across such boundaries.

We may at this point recall that utterances model social relations between interlocutors and recall our illustrative example utterance, "I bid you good day, Sir". And we might compare our understanding of the stereotypical effects of *that* utterance with the EMERGENT EFFECTS of the phrases "Beware of Gombal Manning! After so tiring conference, so what gitu loh?". Should these phrases be displayed by a t-shirt wearer within the visually perceptible field of t-shirt readers in anticipation of a response from readers who are capable of "getting" the message, it would produce a model of a social situation in which the wearer and the reader are *sama-sama* (both) in on a joke. To use these phrases as an utterance is to configure the social relation between the communicators as involving playfulness across multiple indexes of register expertise. This utterance differs from our "good day" example in that the responder may well notice the experience of emergent recognition (rather than being able to quickly recognize and identify the social indexicals of the utterance), as the temporal duration required for arrival at an INTERPRETANT may be sensed as longer than 'immediate'. It differs too in that the total combination of diacritics does not readily index an already known persona type. And it also differs in that we may have the sense, with respect to the 'good day' example, that we have exhaustively parsed the diacritics and fully understand their collective indexes, while with the 'gombal manning' example we may respond while nonetheless having the sense that there's more we have yet to understand. These differences, however, are differences of degree, not of type. Focusing on the UPTAKE cycle of PLAYFUL UTTERANCES with their non-congruent indexical configurations enables us to see that the social alignments between communicators, and the evaluations of such alignments, also emerge.

Implications: after so tiring chapter, so what, gitu loh?

Why should we care if utterances are more or less uptake-able? Or if the social effects of utterances are experienced as stereotypic or emergent? And what difference does it make if we say that we select our signs or that our signs select us? A few possible approaches to responding to such questions come to mind.

One familiar approach is from the angle of ideologies about language boundaries with implications for language education. Sign interpretability happening on the fly via "in-the moment-construal" (Eckert 2018:1204) destabilizes referentialist ideology and calls baptismal ideology into question.[12] As these ideologies have been demonstrated to participate along with the ideology of standard in the socially sanctioned "circulation of racist ideas" (Hill 2008:40), whatever evidence we may have that discredits their believability is useful indeed. If what an utterance means at any given moment in the chain of speech communion is at least in part, if not almost completely, up to a responder who may not even recognize the full range of a sign object's indexical diacritics, then semiotic interactions are regularly doing something more and other than communicating information. And assertions about the *true meaning* of signs are futile, as are practices built on those assertions. Since the ideology of Standard and its supporting ideological framework continues to structure and maintain unequal hierarchies between different language varieties and their speakers with the ongoing support of mediatized language education (Park 2017), a permanent dismantling of the idea that language's true or highest goal is to communicate information using predetermined, fixed units of meaning could help us restructure those hierarchies. The data here can help us to shift our focus towards the ever-present non-referential goals and outcomes of our semiotic behaviors (Briggs 1986; Cole 2019) and towards the abundant agency of the responder in both determining utterance meaning and in granting signs the possibility for further uptake (Agha 2011b; Cole and Pellicer 2012; Johnstone 2000). Language programs organized around the goals of the phatic function of language, for example, with the ultimate indicator of expertise being the learner's ability to play with language and demonstrate "non-conformity" to received forms and rules (Widdowson 1997 as cited in Hall 2013) would look very different indeed from most of our current educational programs.[13] We *could* choose to see the data presented here as an alternative MODEL OF CONTACT (Goebel, coda this volume), one that articulates a METASEMIOTIC COMMENTARY (Goebel, coda this volume) that runs counter to the ideals of Standard and strict partitioning. Perhaps when we can see creative mixing and partial competence as inescapable indicators of facility with language (because they are always and everywhere materially manifest in our own constant crossings of register boundaries), it may become clearer to us, once and for all, that our practices that hold the myth of Standard (Silverstein 1998) in place are untenable and unethical.

Two other approaches to answering the question of "so what?" can only be alluded to briefly. One approach would orient us towards the challenge that Bakhtin set before us so many years ago. We have yet to come up with a comprehensive list of speech genres or a set of empirically-based criteria by which speech genres may be categorized. Perhaps the deliberate playfulness required of the addressees in the data presented here is a potential criterion that would group together genres like satire, riddles, puns, poems, and internet memes around creative "it getting" (Mohammed 2014) as a shared characteristic of such genres' "conception of the addressee" (Bakhtin 1986:95). The other approach would orient us towards post-humanist

and neo-materialist thinking in the humanities (Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012; Braidotti and Dolphijn 2017). Our knowledge of the "the very central fact" of language being "that language is embodied" (Eckert 2018:1201) links us to our colleagues' project of broadening the scope of scholarship of the human beyond a purely language-based and language-focused semiotics concerned with the internal links between always already-given representations to a much wider scope that makes relevant the complete physical context in which meaning is made and based on and in which any meaning exists. Signs that emergently select us for uptake provide a foundational element for a thinking framework attempting to re-envision our collective research endeavors within a more inclusive scholarship by directing our vision away from a narrow focus on only that which is human and made by humans. This narrow focus limits our imaginative capacity for possible action and hinders our willingness to exercise our interpretive agencies. A practical implementation of the materialist semiotics we already have directs us instead towards an escape from the received categories and categorization procedures which zone our collective labor into apparently untranslatable parallel scholarship registers whose boundaries we feel compelled to defend.

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Notes

1 Bakhtin uses the phrase "real unit" to refer to a chunk of semiotic material that can reliably be identified *as a unit* in the actual language use of human beings and for which identification requires no specialized training. This is in contrast to "the sentence", for example, over which grammarians and linguists debate the criteria that count for unit identification. The form an utterance takes may consist of one or more signs, each sign bearing its own enregistered diacritics of accent, nuance of meaning, social indexes, etc.

2 We follow Bakhtin's (1986) usage of 'speaker' and 'speech genres' here which are cover terms for much broader categories, 'speaker' covering *speaker, writer, producer of language more generally* and 'speech genres' covering *rejoinders in everyday conversation, jokes, novels, scientific articles, etc.* That we have yet to attempt to create any empirically-based comprehensive categorization of the latter is a central point of Bakhtin's essay.

3 In actuality, any present utterance can be neither wholly stereotypical nor wholly emergent but always both to varying degrees, given "the unrepeatable situation of communication" (Bakhtin 1986:80).

4 *Aseli Bikinan Dagadu Djokdja* (Genuine Dagadu Djokdja Product) is the registered trademark of a company that is referred to colloquially as "Dagadu". The company lost "Dagadu" as their official company name when shortly after it was founded someone

else trademarked the name and began selling t-shirts at popular tourist shopping areas around the city at considerably lower prices with a Dagadu label. You can still buy Dagadu products that are not made by the company I am describing here. The story of the process by which *Aseli Bikinan Dagadu Djokdja* and *Dagadu* became separate, the questions of authentication surrounding the different valuations of their products along with the social inequalities these would invite us to address merit their own analysis. Here I will follow local spoken convention and use "Dagadu" as shorthand to refer to *Aseli Bikinan Dagadu Djokdja* and will only be examining commodities produced by the *Aseli Bikinan Dagadu Djokdja* company.

5 The word "dagadu" is itself the result of a playful process that took the Indonesian word "matamu" (your eye) and inputted it into the game BasaWalikan—based on the Javanese syllabary—to transform it to dagadu. See Jackson and Rahmat (2013) for an explanation of how the game works.

6 We see here multiple spellings of the city's name. The official, national Indonesian name is Yogyakarta, for which Yogya is an abbreviation. The contemporary spelling that reflects the Javanese name is Jogjakarta, for which Jogja is an abbreviation (this is my preferred orthographic representation for the name of the city). The spellings Djokdjakarta and Djokdja are the old Dutch spellings for the local Javanese pronunciation.

7 The text at the bottom reads "[with] coffee [as your] friend [you can] study until morning, hone [your] instincts [and] raise [your] intelligence".

8 See Cole (2010) for an analysis of how this national motto was enregistered in art and literature, as well as in scholarly and otherwise mediatized discourses about the societal role of these genres, during the Reformasi era.

9 I don't know what the accent marks in the first word are meant to reference, as accent marks aren't part of the regular Indonesian orthographic system. In any case, their presence seems to signal links to other language registers with other orthographic systems.

10 lucu *adj*. funny, cute.

11 kampung *n*. village, town.

12 Referentialist ideology "insists that language exists in order to communicate information, and that it uses words to do this job" (Hill 2008:39) and baptismal ideology "holds that there is a single, correct word that can be found by tracing its history to an authoritative original source" (Hill 2008:38).

13 See Goebel (2002) for a similar call to action.

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12

CODA

Zane Goebel

This edited collection started its life as a series of papers presented as a panel, "Margins, Hubs and Peripheries in a Decentralizing Indonesia", at the Sociolinguistics of Globalization conference held in Hong Kong 2015. Since then, the editors theorized the collection in the introduction and subsequently invited contributors to revise their contributions with the introduction in mind. Personal schedules, the work of getting a publisher for this collection, and life in general meant that the timespan between receiving revised chapters and then writing the current coda was longer than we would have liked. Of course, these delays did not prevent the authors, editors, and the sociolinguistic community more generally from continuing to develop and refine their ideas. Thus, the job of this coda is to speak to how this collection addresses contemporary sociolinguistic concerns. I start by looking at professional ideologies in relation to the publication of area-studies collections, before then moving to recent conceptual developments as they relate to scalar shifters, chronotopes, and the terminological flurry of work looking at mixed language practices (e.g., translanguaging, metrolingualism, polylanguaging and so forth). I end by pointing to some of the methodological implications of this collection for sociolinguistic inquiry.

Sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology have a long history of inviting us to examine our own professional ideologies about language, identity, and social relations, and how all of this relates to variation, complexity, and the way we conceptualize our work (Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Blommaert, 2016; Blommaert & Rampton, 2015). One invitation that has come out of work in this area is the need to start to break down older unhelpful views that equate named nations with named communities and named languages; that is, the need to avoid seeing like a state (Scott, 1998; Silverstein, 2015). While there has been much scholarly work that has taken up this invitation (Arnaut, Karrebæk, Spotti, & Blommaert, 2016; Pietikäinen

& Kelly-Holmes, 2013), remnants of a professional ideology that equates a nation-state with a language and a community seem to endure.

For example, one of the challenges for finding a publisher for the current collection related to its focus on Indonesia. Essentially, some reviewers and publishers eschewed a country collection arguing that a collection of different areas would be better. Such a view inadvertently helps to reproduce an ideology equating one nation with one community and one language. In contrast, the strength of this collection is its ability to empirically demonstrate the semiotic complexity found within a particular country. In doing so, our collection also shows how a collection of sociolinguistic insights from one region of the world can collectively contribute to sociolinguist and linguistic anthropological thought more generally, a topic to which we now turn.

The collection as a whole speaks to five areas of sociolinguistic theorizing: ideas around shifters, scale, chronotopes, contact registers, and metasemiotic commentaries, which we discuss later. We have invited the reader to build upon Silverstein's idea of SHIFTERS in order to capture both the *effects* of using signs from elsewhere in a particular communicative activity—often referred to as a SPEECH EVENT or more recently a CHRONOTOPIC MOMENT (Goebel & Manns, 2019)—and the idea that these signs connect chronotopic moments. The idea of SCALAR SHIFTER or its more recent theorization as SCALE-MAKER (Goebel & Manns, 2019) is similar to other parallel concepts such as CHRONOTOPIZATION (Karimzad, 2019), and SYNCHRONIZATION (Blommaert, 2019). All concepts attempt to label and expand on the process that occurs when TOKENS are used to invoke or index a TYPE or context (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008; Ochs, 1990; Silverstein, 2005). Being able to capture the effects of the use of scale makers shouldn't be confused with two other concepts, RECONTEXTUALIZATION (Bauman & Briggs, 1990) and INTERDISCURSIVITY (Bauman, 2005; Silverstein, 2005). The former speaks to the imitation of a sign, but not to its scalar effects, while the latter speaks to how signs are used across chronotopic moments, rather than how they help reconfigure that moment. Thus, the contribution of the concept SCALE-MAKER is very much related to how it describes a process we have tended to overlook, while problematizing simplistic notions of context and providing a more nuanced way of describing and interpreting "context" as part of what Blommaert refers to as a SOCIOLINGUISTIC SYSTEM (Blommaert, 2019). All of the chapters are replete with examples of scale-making, along with accounts of how to methodologically examine such processes.

Recognizing scale-making as a process also requires us to rethink how we talk about the semiotic stuff or medium used in this process. Labels such as language X or language Y won't do. As noted in the introduction, there is a now a large amount of literature problematizing the concept of language and the process of mean-making in contact settings, such as scholarship on code-switching (Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002), polylanguaging (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, & Møller, 2011), superdiverse repertoire (Blommaert & Backus, 2011), translanguaging (Garcia & Wei, 2014), metrolinguisalism (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), transglossia (Sultana, 2015), and linguascapes (Dovchin, 2018). While earlier

notions about translanguaging were an attempt to contextualize what happened in school classrooms (Garcia & Wei, 2014), until recently (see for example Wei, 2018) most use of the term TRANSLANGUAGING can be characterized as a re-labeling exercise or even an academic branding one (Pavlenko, 2017) that hasn't added much to how we might approach the mediums used in contact situations.

While moving our thinking along, the other concepts that include versions of "language" or "lingua", on the surface at least, continue to entertain the idea of language (Pennycook, 2016), and only the ideas of translanguaging, transglossia, and linguascapes develop concepts that embed the idea that seeking the connections between signs is useful for understanding the use of contact registers in social life. While the ideas of superdiverse repertoire, metrolingualism, and linguascapes recognize that a contact register is made up a whole host of signs, rather than merely a bunch of words, all concepts continue to label the linguistic fragments found in the talk and texts that they examine as "language x" or "language y", without accounting for how they have come to use such a label. Agha's (2007) concept of (semiotic) register, described in our introduction to this volume, thus seems a sensible way to discuss medium. This leaves the idea of CONTACT, which was undertheorized in our introduction. So let us do a bit of this conceptual work now.

In line with Goebel (2019), I invite the reader to think of the term CONTACT as referring to any form of human contact. Recall how decades of sociolinguistics work (Eckert, 2000; Gumperz, 1982; Tannen, 1984) has continued to show us that all settings involving human contact can be characterized as contact between those who are not exact replicas of each other with exactly the same communicative repertoires. Thus, the term CONTACT REGISTER acknowledges the above and starts with the idea that CONTACT is the default human condition, while REGISTER refers to all signs used, recognized, and imitated, and to the recognition that such signs are connected to other signs in other chronotopic moments.

As Bucholtz and Hall (2004) have observed, such contact requires some form of discursive work to establish social sameness and/or difference. Such work is essentially discursive work that evaluates the contact register being used. As pointed out in our introduction to this volume, Agha (2007) has referred to this general practice as a METASEMIOTIC COMMENTARY because the commentary can comment on and value a range of signs found in a particular chronotopic moment. The chapters in this volume all provide examples of this valuing practice. In addition to the construction of centers and peripheries, such valuing practices also contribute to all sorts of boundary making projects. We have seen this in Zentz's, Mann's and Musgrave's, and Djenar's analysis of ethnolinguistic boundary construction, Harr's and Donzelli's analysis of the construction of temporal and moral boundaries, and Ewing's analysis of the interactional construction and comparison of different youth identities.

Not all metasemiotic commentaries are of the same type, however. Elsewhere, Goebel (2019) has started to conceptualize different types of commentaries and the valuing work that they do under the idea of CONTACT DISCOURSE. In this formulation, CONTACT has the same scope described above, while DISCOURSE "refers to

face-to-face talk … as well as that which focuses on other forms of communication" (Goebel, 2019: 332). In this proposal, contact discourse is broken down into three, inter-connected types: MODELS OF CONTACT, CONTACT COMMENTARY, and CONTACT TALK. Each of these models have different participation and authorization frameworks.

Models of contact refers to how multimodal representations of contact found in one-to-many participation frameworks project normativities around contact in social life as well as sociolinguistic boundaries. These models are common, especially if we look at one-to-many participation frameworks, such as the television and radio representations discussed in Goebel's and Donzelli's chapters, the formulation of language policy in Papua (Morin and Goebel, this volume) and Central Java (Zentz, this volume), and the representations found in the teen novels analyzed by Djenar (this volume). In looking at this diverse set of cases, we can say that the multimodal representation is the "one", while the viewers, listeners, and readers represent the "many". We can also say that these models are often authorized by those acting for the nation-state (e.g., Morin and Goebel, this volume), media organizations (e.g., Goebel, this volume), multinational organizations (e.g., Donzelli, this volume), small companies (Cole, this volume), or those with celebrity status (e.g., Manns and Musgrave, this volume). In most cases, authorization is typically remote to the actual representation of the model. Models of contact engender evaluative commentaries about these models. We can refer to them as CONTACT COMMENTARIES. In Goebel (2019), I suggested this class be for written forms of evaluative commentaries that we could find in one-to-many participation frameworks (e.g., those found in newspapers, online newspapers, and blogs). Here I want to broaden this class, but continue to use it for only one-to-many participation frameworks. This is so because the chapters in this collection demonstrate that evaluative commentaries about models of contact can in fact be in written or oral forms. In the chapter by Manns and Musgrave, for example, we see how one minor celebrity's representation of their contact with ethnic others on Twitter engenders a chain of written commentaries in an online forum. In the chapters by Zentz and Donzelli, we also hear how people orally comment on models of social life authorized by the state.

The last of the three classes is what Goebel (2019) refers to as CONTACT TALK. Contact talk includes all signs used during human contact—that is a contact register—within small participation frameworks (e.g. face-to-face interactions involving a few people), AND a commentary about expected sign usage during contact. Such commentaries value or devalue the practices and participants in the account, while policing social practice. The chapters by Harr and Donzelli provide a number of examples of contact talk. In Harr's chapter we hear about how a candidate for an upcoming election gives a speech using what he considers is a local language, only to have parts of his speech corrected by elders as he gives it. In Donzelli's chapter we get a more explicit example of contact talk where in a meeting among bureaucrats one of them specifies the language of interaction as a regional ethnic one. We also see in a latter example, the mixing of semiotic resources stereotypically

associated with an ethnic language and associated moral dispositions, and semiotic resources stereotypically associated with the national language, Indonesian, and state ideologies about citizen-state interaction. After considering the content of the chapters by Cole, Djenar, Goebel, and Morin and Goebel, another class of contact discourse emerges, namely MODELS OF CONTACT TALK. In the chapters by Goebel and Morin and Goebel, we have representations of contact talk in a television soap opera. In Djenar's chapter, we have representations of contact talk in teen novels.

In highlighting the contribution of this volume to contemporary sociolinguistic thought, it seems worthwhile to point out that through a focus on contact commentary and contact talk, we get to see how a contact register emerges in interaction and how contact commentaries and contact talk can help enregister the medium being used. This perspective seems to also highlight methodological ways forward for looking at contact discourse.

Any reader who has engaged with this collection from the beginning to here will be aware of the richness of data, and the diversity of methodologies applied to this data. In approaching scale-making and contact discourse, it should be clear that multiple methodologies are required, especially if we take connection seriously and wish to follow chains of sign imitation and uptake. As Goebel (2014, 2015, 2016, in press) has pointed out elsewhere, and as anticipated in the work of Gafaranga (2001), Agha (2007), Albury (2017) and others, this requires us to account for how we come to certain labels for the mediums used in contact discourse. Just as importantly, such methodological transparency, together with a focus on imitation, also enables us to more carefully consider how certain communicative practices contribute to the BELIEVABILITY of our scholarly accounts of language in social life. In short, believability refers to both the researcher and research subjects efforts to convince each other about the truthfulness of their accounts of language in social life (Goebel, in press).

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"This is an immensely important volume in which a synthesis is achieved of decades of theoretical debate, now integrated in an original and innovative framework for a sociolinguistics of complexity. Offering a range of richly documented studies within a coherent framework, this book is compelling reading for anyone interested in the contemporary dynamics of language and society."

Jan Blommaert, *Director of Babylon, Department of Culture Studies, Tilburg School of Humanities and Digital Sciences, Tilburg University, Tilburg, the Netherlands*

"This book shows that although Indonesia has arguably the world's most successful national language in one of the world's most linguistically diverse countries, the problem of contact languages has not been 'solved'. With ethnographically rich examples and introducing the concepts of 'scalar shifter' and 'contact register', the authors show beautifully how language remains a pivotal resource for the construction of difference and sameness in the midst of massive decentralization and globalization."

Joel Kuipers, *Professor of Anthropology and International Affairs, George Washington University, USA*

Written by a wide range of highly regarded scholars and exciting junior ones, this book critiques and operationalizes contemporary thinking in the rapidly expanding field of linguistic anthropology. It does so using case studies of actual everyday language practices from an extremely understudied yet incredibly important area of the Global South: Indonesia. In doing so, it provides a rich set of studies that model and explain complex linguistic anthropological analysis in engaging and easily understood ways.

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